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EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]

(BEING VOL. XVII OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)

VOLUME SEVENTEEN : 1991

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EDITORIAL

The Epigraphical Society of India is holding its seventeenth annual conference at Tanjore, a town hoary with its past dating back to the time of the Imperial Chōḷas and studded with several historical monuments including the famous Bṛihadīśvara temple which wax eloquently of the architectural and sculptural wealth and glory of yesteryears. The society is thankful to the Vice-Chancellor, Tamil University, Tanjore and Dr. Y. Subbarayalu, Professor and Head, Department of Epigraphy for agreeing to host this year's annual conference. The Society is happy to note that the Tamil University is one of the very few varsities in India, having a full-fledged department of Epigraphy.

In the year gone by, the Society continued to maintain its steady growth with more and more persons joining and strengthening it. The Society wishes to express its sincere thanks to all its members for their sustained co-operation and help. The Society's journal has come as a must for reference in historical and indological studies and its standard and contents have been acclaimed and appreciated very recently by no less eminent an indologist than Dr. Grittli Mitterwallner of Germany.

Reference was made earlier to the workshop held in Mysore last year under the aegis of the Indian Council of Historical Research on the preparation of a dictionary of social, economic and administrative terms in Indian Inscriptions. The Society is happy to note that work on this project has already been taken up and is progressing fast.

The Society is sad to announce the sudden demise of Dr. Mrs. Sarada Srinivasan, Reader, Department of Archaeology, M.S. University, Baroda on 8th November 1990. Dr. Srinivasan was one of the active and enthusiastic members of the Society, who participated in several of its conferences and presented important research papers. She was in the executive committee of the Society. The Society wishes to express its deep anguish and sorrow at her untimely death and conveys the same to the members of the bereaved family, especially to her husband Dr. Srinivasan, who it may be noted is one of the patrons of the society.

The Society thanks the Chairman Prof. S. H. Ritti for his timely advice and help and also expresses its profound thanks to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy), for his abiding interest and sustained help and co-operation. It also thanks the Vice-Chairman and Chief Epigraphist Shri Madhav N. Katti for his help. This year, the Society could not have the help it used to derive from Dr. Venkatesh and Shri S. Nagarjuna, who were respectively its Treasurer and Asst. Secretary. The Society wishes to acknowledge the past services rendered to it by these two gentlemen.

The Society expresses its thanks to Shri S. K. Lakshminarayana, Proprietor, Vidyasagar Printing and Publishing House and his staff, especially Shri S. Manjunath for the neat and efficient printing of the volume.

Lastly, the Society thanks the Indian Council of Historical Research for its generous financial assistance towards the publication of this volume.

Vṛiddhir=astu

S. Subramania Iyer

Secretary and Executive Editor

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

G. S. Gai

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates and friends :

At the outset, I wish to express my grateful thanks to the Executive Committee for electing me as the General President of the sixteenth annual congress of the Epigraphical Society of India. Indeed I deem it a great honour bestowed upon me. I crave your indulgence for reminiscing on some thoughts of mine on this occasion. Though you have been electing a General President every year for the annual congress of this Society, this has been an important event in my case since I consider it a sort of home-coming to the Society after an absence of nearly a decade. I took voluntary retirement from the Chairmanship of the Society way back in 1980 at the Ahmedabad session and since then I have refrained from participating in its activities. As some of you know, I was closely associated with this Society since its very inception as its founder Chairman from 1974 to 1980. My friends who were closely associated with me during my tenure of Chairmanship continued to show their deep affection and love towards me even when I was not in the organisation. They even invited me to be the General President on an earlier occasion but I could not accept their kind invitation. Hence these friends have arranged this annual Congress at Mysore itself and are thus responsible for making me stand before you today as your General President. I am, therefore, particularly grateful to these friends for their *generosity* which has enabled me to be in the midst of my old friends once again and also to make acquaintance with new faces.

The seeds of the Epigraphical Society of India were first sown in the room occupied by me as Chief Epigraphist in the Old University Office Buildings where the Office of the Chief Epigraphist and now that of the Director of Epigraphy is located. For several months I was thinking of starting the Epigraphical Society of India. One fine morning, about the middle of 1974, my old friend Prof. Avadh Kishore Narain, then Professor & Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Banaras Hindu University, came to see me and while discussing about his newly-formed Archaeological Society of India, I mooted the question of forming the Epigraphical Society of India also on an all India basis. He welcomed the idea and suggested that I should immediately call a meeting of the members of my staff to consider this proposal. But I wanted that this organisation be broad-based by involving bodies like the Universities and other research Institutes. Accordingly we contacted our friend Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, then Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient India History and Archaeology in the University of Mysore. Dr. Narasimha Murthy also welcomed our

* Delivered at the XVI Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Mysore on 16th, 17th and 18th of February 1990.

proposal and invited us to meet at his place immediately in this connection. Thus Prof. Narain, myself and some of my colleagues like Dr. K. V. Ramesh and Shri K. G. Krishnan met in Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy's chambers in the Mysore University campus and, after a brief discussion, it was decided to form this Epigraphical Society of India. It was also unanimously decided that I should become the first Chairman of the Society, Dr. Narasimha Murthy the first Secretary, Dr. Ramesh the first Executive Editor of the Journal to be brought out and to be called *Bhāratīya-Purābhilēkha-Patrikā* or the Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India and lastly Shri Krishnan the first Treasurer of the Society. Subsequently Prof. V. S. Pathak was nominated as Vice-Chairman and Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri and Dr. Z. A. Desai as Editors. An Executive Committee was formed in which eminent scholars like Prof. R. S. Sharma, Prof. K. D. Bajpai, Prof. A. K. Narain, Shri B. B. Lal, Dr. Shrinivasa Ritti, Dr. S. R. Rao, Prof. M. G. S. Narayan were included. Among the Honorary Fellows nominated at the beginning were Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Prof. V. V. Mirashi, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Shri N. L. Rao, Shri C. Sivarama Murthy, Shri R. S. Panchamukhi, Prof. T.V. Mahalingam and Prof. Jagannath Agrawal. Thus, with the association and blessings of these scholars, the Epigraphical Society of India which was born in Mysore in the year 1974 launched its onward journey of development true to its motto of "Vṛiddhir=astu" appropriately suggested by Dr. Ramesh. Several scholars from all over India and abroad whole-heartedly welcomed the foundation of this Society which created a common platform for the scholars interested in the field of epigraphy to meet and deliberate at least once a year at this annual Congress. And the first congress was held in January 1975 at Dharwad under the auspices of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy of Karnataka University. This Congress was attended by more than 90 delegates and it was a great success due to the keen interest and untiring efforts of Prof. Shrinivasa Ritti, then Professor and Head of that Department and now the Chairman of this Society. My illustrious predecessor Dr. Chhabra was the first General President of that Congress which was inaugurated by Dr. (Miss) Sarojini Mahishi, then Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs. On that occasion Shri N. L. Rao was honoured with a *Tāmrapatra*.

Thus the child which was born in 1974 in Mysore is now celebrating its sixteenth birth-day in this city of Mysore only and I have the good fortune to participate in this celebration as its General President. During the last fifteen years, the Society has grown from strength to strength and has attained the status and dignity of an all-India organisation, attracting the attention of the scholars from all parts of the country and abroad. This has been made possible on account of the interest and involvement, dynamic drive and devotion of a number of persons under the able guidance of my successor-Chairmen Prof. Bajpai and Prof. Ritti. In this semarkable achievement, I have no hesitation in stating that the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, now of the Director of Epigraphy, has played a very vital role and the *persona grata* in this regard, as you all know, is none other than my friend Dr. Ramesh, the present Director of

Epigraphy who, with the unstinted help and co-operation of his staff, has made a significant contribution to the growth of this Society from its very inception until today and very often from behind the scenes.

During the period of my Chairmanship of this Society and also when I happened to be associated with the sister-organisation called the Place-Names Society of India as its founder Vice-President, I mooted the question of acquiring some land in Mysore to house these two organisations at one place. Accordingly, I requested Prof. D. Javare Gowda, ex-Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University who was then the President of the Kuvempu Vidyavardhaka Trust and also the President of the Place-Names Society to give some land belonging to the said Trust to these two organisations. The Trust did pass a resolution granting half-an-acre of land to each of these organisations, adjacent to each other. But somehow the matter was not pursued and was allowed to rest at that. It was my idea and dream to have a permanent building for the Epigraphical Society to develop it as a major research centre like the Rashtrakavi Govind Pai Research Centre at Udupi in Dakshina Kannada district of Karnataka. Even today I would request Dr. Ritti and Dr. Ramesh who are at the helm of the Epigraphical Society and Place-Names Society respectively to make earnest efforts to secure some suitable land for these organisations either from the Kuvempu Trust or from the Mysore Urban Development Authority and I am hopeful that they will succeed if they pursue the matter seriously. It is high time now that the Epigraphical Society has its own building wherein an uptodate library, reading rooms and guest-rooms are provided so that research scholars from all parts of the country and abroad can come and stay here for carrying out their work. Besides becoming a clearing ground for all kinds of epigraphical research, this centre can also undertake research projects. For example, the major project of preparing a Dictionary of social, economic and administrative terms in Indian inscriptions, discussed recently at a workshop conducted here by the Indian Council of Historical Research and convened by the Director of Epigraphy can be entrusted to this proposed research centre of the Epigraphical Society. If this dream of mine becomes a reality in the near future, during my life-time, I intend to donate my small but useful and representative personal library to the Epigraphical Society which can form the nucleus of the library of the proposed research centre. I am also hopeful that necessary funds for the construction of the building and other facilities will be forthcoming from different sources, considering the growth and achievements of the Society. And, in course of time, when this Society becomes financially viable, it can institute fellowships, endowment lectures, etc. and widen the scope of its activities.

From the beginning this Society is bringing out the Journal called *Bhāratīya-Purābhilēkha-Patrikā* or the Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India, published annually at the time of this Congress. The issues of the Journal contain many useful, interesting and important articles on epigraphy contributed by senior as well as by some younger scholars. In the Foreword to the very first issue of this Journal, I have stated that one of the important objectives of this Society is to create the necessary interest in epigraphical studies and research amongst the younger generation of scholars who should be encouraged to

contribute to this journal. I am glad that many youngsters are participating in the annual conferences and also contribute articles to the Journal. But I feel that our young scholars need proper guidance in several aspects of research output, incluing honesty and integrity. While they can present even an imperfect paper in the seminar and invite suggestions and criticisms from other scholars, they must see that all the defects are eliminated when they submit their papers for publication in the Society's Journal. And the Editor or Editorial Committee should ensure that sub-standard articles are not published with a view to maintaining the quality and a fairly high standard of the Journal. In this connection, I may be permitted to quote an example by drawing your attention to a small article on an inscription published by one of my young friends in ,a recent issue of this journal viz. Vol. 14. The record refers to a certain Kīrtivarman as a reigning king and his subordinate, one Dōsiyara, as governing Banavâsi-12000 division. The author identifies this Kīrtivarman with Kīrtivarman II of the Chalukyas of Badami and states that this king is also referred to as Kattiyara in the Diḍgur inscription published by Fleet long ago in volume six of *Epigraphia Indica*. He also identifies Dōsiyara with Dōsi mentioned in the said Diḍgur inscription as governing Banavāsi-12000 division and also with Dōsiraja referred to in the Vakkaleri plates of Kīrtivarman II published by Kielhorn in volume five of *Epigraphia Indica*. But, it must be noted that Fleet did not identify Kattiyara of the Diḍgur record with Kīrtivarman II or Dōsi with Dōsirāja mentioned in the Vakkaleri plates published just in a previous volume of *Epigraphia Indica*. In fact Fleet stated "the names of the king and the local governor are not known as yet from any other records." And he proceeds to suggest the identification of this Kattiyara with one of the subordinate chiefs of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III to which period he refers the Diḍgur inscription. It was only after a lapse of about sixty years since the publication of Fleet's article that the identification of Kattiyara with the Chalukya king Kīrtivarman II and of Dōsi with Dōsirāja of the Vakkaleri plates of Kīrtivarman II was suggested, for the first time, in a small article entitled 'A Note on the Diḍgur Inscription of Kattiyara' published in volume thirty-three of *Epigraphia Indica*. But, strangely enough, this Note on the Diḍgur Inscription is not at all mentioned by our young friend in his article and the reader naturally gets the impression that he is suggesting the identification. A similar thing has happened in the second article published by this scholar in the same issue of the Journal wherein he has suggested the identification of one Mārakka-arasar with the subordinate of the same name of the Rāshṭrakūta king Dhruva-Dhārāvarsha. Obviously, this is unfair and unjust to the previous authors who have already suggested these identifications. Perhaps it may be argued that our young friend, without being aware of the previous publications, might have suggested these identifications independently by his own researches. But a comparison of his articles with the previous ones on the subject will convince anybody that it is not so. This is not good and healthy from the point of view of the ethics of research scholars. I have made a pointed reference to the above example since, unfortunately, I find that such a tendency on the part of our young scholars is on the increase now-a-days and since I am anxious that the standard of research must be maintained,

particularly in a publication like the Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India. For, next to *Epigraphia Indica*, this is the only journal of an all-India status inviting contributions from the scholars all over the country and even abroad. I would, therefore, appeal to all the concerned scholars and particularly the Editor or the Editorial Committee to ensure that only articles of sufficiently high standard are published in the journal and that sub-standard articles are not included. In this connection, I would also like to place a few suggestions for their consideration. The inscriptions edited in the Society's Journal need not follow the same pattern as those edited in *Epigraphia Indica*. While the articles in *Epigraphia Indica* are intended for a restricted class of scholars engaged in pure research in the field of epigraphical studies, I feel that the articles in this Journal should keep in view a wider class of readers interested not only in political and dynastic history but also in social, religious, economic and administrative history, besides art, architecture and culture in general of the bygone days. The journal can also give room for expressing different view-points by the scholars on a particular subject or subjects. I think that a detailed description of palaeography, orthography, language, description of copper-plates, size of letters, etc. as given in *Epigraphia Indica* may be eliminated while publishing an inscription in this journal. After giving the findspot of the record and highlighting the significant points in respect of the above-mentioned aspects, if any, the author can straightaway deal with the contents of the epigraph drawing the attention of the readers to their importance and contribution to our knowledge. May I request the persons concerned with the publication of this journal to consider these suggestions for what they are worth.

It is needless to point out how rewarding it is to re-examine the records already published by even stalwarts. For example, the Banavāsi Nāga Image Inscription in Prakrit belonging to the reign of Viṇhukaḍa-Sātakaṇṇi was discovered more than a century ago (1879-80) by James Burgess and has been dealt with by eminent scholars like Bühler, Lüders, Rapson, Bhagawanlal Indraji, N. L. Rao, R. S. Panchamukhi and D. C. Sircar. It records the construction of a Nāga (i.e. Nāga image), a tank and a vihāra by a certain Śivaskandanāgaśrī. While one set of scholars mentioned above regarded this Śivaskandanāgaśrī as a princess, the other set considered this name as that of a prince. Fresh light could be thrown on this problem after a lapse of about seventy years since its discovery when I re-examined this record *in situ* in the year 1947-48 and with a fresh set of impressions, by deciphering just two words at the beginning of the second line and immediately preceding the name Śivaskandanāgaśrī as *yuvarāja-mātuya* for the first time. This reading confirmed that Śivaskandanāgaśrī was a princess and not a prince and thus settled the question about the sex of this name. We have already mentioned above how Fleet could not identify Kattiyara and his subordinate Dōsi while editing the Diḍgur inscription and how the identification with Chalukya king Kīrtivarman II and Dōsirāja of Vakkaleri plates was suggested when that record was re-examined after about sixty years. In an article published in volume four of this Society's journal, Dr. K.V. Ramesh has also drawn our attention to the necessity and importance of re-examining the previously

published inscriptions and has suggested improvements in reading and interpretation of some records edited by Fleet long ago. But we should not forget, even for a moment, that we are enabled to point out such errors and suggest improvements only by standing on the shoulders of these pioneer scholars for whose scholarship, industry and ingenuity we have nothing but admiration and we bow our heads in reverence to them.

Now I would like to invite the attention of this august assembly to bestow their thought on some of the controversial topics which have been already dealt with by the senior scholars. In his presidential address at the Ninth Annual Congress of this Society held at Gorakhpur (1983), Prof. Jagannath Agrawal has commented on the expression *svamatāviruddhasya* of the sentence *bhagavatō samyak-sambuddhasya sva-matāviruddhasya pratimā-pratishṭhāpitā* occurring in the Mankuwar Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of the Gupta king Kumāragupta I. Fleet translated this expression as one 'who was never refuted in respect of his tenets'. But Prof. Jagannath Agrawal thinks that the term *aviruddha* should be understood in a technical sense to mean 'he whose various vices of mind have been destroyed by the fire of knowledge'. Considering *svamata* and *aviruddha* as adjectives of Buddha he translates the expression as one 'who is Aviruddha and who is honoured by me'. The meaning of *sva-mata* as 'one who is honoured by me' as an attribute of Buddha does not appear to be happy. However, Prof. Agrawala has not taken into consideration the view of the late D. R. Bhandarkar about this expression published in the revised volume of the Guptas, though he devotes a full para to the publication of this volume at the beginning of his address. Following Fleet, Bhandarkar translates this expression as one 'who was uncontroverted in respect of his tenets' but throws new light on the term *sva-mata* by connecting it with the expression *Sammitīya*, the name of a celebrated sect and school of Buddhism whose principal doctrine is *Pudgalavāda*. Thus, according to Bhandarkar, Buddha is described here as *sva-mat-āviruddha* i.e. 'uncontroverted in his doctrine of *sva* (= Pudgala)'. Even before the publication of the revised volume of the Guptas, I have referred to the above-mentioned views of Bhandarkar in my article on the Mathura Pedestal Inscription of Kanishka published in volume six of this Society's journal, to which also no reference is made by Prof. Agrawal. Anyway, in my opinion, Bhandarkar's suggestion is not only ingenious but also convincing and acceptable.

The next controversial matter relates to three verses of the Bhitarī stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta. They are :

vichalita - kula - lakshmī - stambhanāy = ōdyatēna
kshiti-tala-śayanī yēyēna nītās = triyāmāḥ ।
samudita-bala-kōshān = yudhy = amitrāṁś = cha jitvā
kshitipa - charaṇa-pīṭhē sthāpitō vāma-pādaḥ ॥
Pitari divam = upētē viplutāṁ vaṅśa - lakshmīṁ
bhuja-bala-vijit-ārir = yyaḥpratishṭhāpya bhūyaḥ ।
jitam = iti paritōshān = mātaraṁ s-āsra-nēttrāṁ
hata - ripur = iva Kṛishṇō Dēvakīm = abhyupētaḥ ॥
Hūṇair = yyasya samāgatasya samarē dorbhyāṁ dharā kampitā
bhīm-āvarta-karasya śatrushu śarā ....

According to the opinion of D. R. Bhandarkar, as found in the revised volume of the Guptas, the exploits of Skandagupta mentioned in these three verses relate to one

and the same conflict which he had to face after the death of his father Kumāragupta when the Gupta power began to totter. He surmises that on the demise of Kumāragupta *(pitari divam=upētē)* Skandagupta's elder brother Ghaṭōtkachagupta ascended the throne and soon after some enemies, including the relatives on his mother's side, joined by the Hūṇas, raised the standard of revolt in which Ghaṭōtkachagupta was probably killed and the fortunes of the Gupta dynasty sunk to the lowest level. It was left to Skandagupta to re-establish the Gupta supremacy and the three verses referred to above describe the bravery of Skandagupta in doing so. But Prof. V. V. Mirashi does not agree with this view of Bhandarkar. In a recent article entitled 'New Light on the Reigns of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta' published in Cultural Contours of India (Dr. Satya Prakash Felicitation Volume), he has refuted the arguments of Bhandarkar relating to the three verses of the Bhitarī inscription mentioned above. Mirashi thinks that these three verses describe three different conflicts of Skandagupta and not one and the same conflict as thought of by Bhandarkar. He states that the first verse describes a conflict which occurred towards the end of Kumāragupta's reign when he was still alive. The second verse refers to the situation immediately after Kumāragupta's death when there was a war of succession between Ghaṭōtkachagupta and his brother Skandagupta which shattered the fortunes of the Guptas and in which ultimately Skandagupta emerged victorious. The third conflict is mentioned in the third verse which refers only to Skandagupta's brave fight with the Hūṇa invaders. In the above-mentioned article and also in an earlier article published in the Marathi journal 'Navabhārata' (published before the revised volume of the Guptas), Prof. Mirashi refers to the new discovery at Indore of a single plate of the Vākāṭaka dynasty which formed the missing first plate of the incomplete set of Indore plates of Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna published long ago by Sushilkumar Bose in volume twentyfour of *Epigraphia Indica.* From the discovery of this single plate, we learn that the grant was issued from the royal camp at Tripurī *(Tripurī-vāsakāt)*, identified with modern Tewar near Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh. Since this place was situated in the territory of the Guptas and not of Vākāṭakas, Prof. Mirashi thinks that Pravarasēna II invaded the territory of the Guptas during the reign of his contemporary Kumāragupta. He also states that a veiled reference to this conflict is found in the first of the three verses of the Bhitarī inscription of Skandagupta mentioned above. I have refuted this view of Prof. Mirashi in my article entitled 'A Note on the Indore Plate of Pravarasēna' published in volume five of this Society's journal. In that article I have referred to the views of Bhandarkar regarding the three verses of the Bhitarī inscription which have been now questioned by Mirashi in his latest article mentioned above. It may, however, be pointed out that none of the records of Pravarasēna II nor of his successors indicate hostile relationship between the Vākāṭakas and Guptas during Pravarasēna's or Kumāragupta's time. So Bhandarkar is justified in stating that there is nothing to show that Kumāragupta's reign had a tragic end, and that the fortunes of the family began to sink soon after his death when Ghaṭōtkachagupta ascended the throne and were not restored till Skandagupta made himself supreme. I am inclined to agree with the view of Bhandarkar and hence Mirashi's stand does not appear to be tenable.

About twentyfive years ago an interesting stone inscription was discovered at a place called Hisse-Bōrālā near Washim (i.e. the ancient Vākāṭaka capital Vatsagulma) in Akola district of Maharashtra. It has been edited in volume thirtyseven of *Epigraphia Indica* by Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale. The stone bearing the inscription was found broken into two pieces and it suffered further damage while being shifted to the Collector's office at Akola. It is now deposited in the Nagpur Museum. The inscription belongs to the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna of the Vatsagulma branch and registers the construction of a lake called Sudarśana. The reading and interpretation of the portion at the beginning, which has suffered some damage, has indeed been a hard nut to crack for the scholars. However, the reading *Śakānāṁ 380* in the latter half of the first line is fairly certain and hence this is the only record of the Vākāṭaka dynasty dated in the Śaka era, the rest of their inscriptions being dated in the regnal years. Dr. Shobhana Gokhale reads the beginning portion as :

> *Siddham tasya vrittasya vrā 20 Sapta-[Rshayūttara-suvachha] . . . bda Śakānāṁ 380 Vākāṭakānāṁ*

She further states that it is difficult to offer any satisfactory interpretation of this reading (upto . . . bḍa). In a Postscript appended to her article she has given the reading and interpretation of Dr. V. B. Kolte of this portion as follows :

> *[Madhya-ga]tasya vṛittasya vru (vṛi) 20 Saptarshayar=Uttara[s=ūpari] [a (or sha)] shṭyaṁśak-ōnē 380*

In his later article on this subject Dr. Kolte has corrected *vru* 20 as *dhru* 20. He interprets the first half of this portion as "at the 20th circle (latitude) on the Central meridian" which means that the place Hisse-Bōrālā where the Sudarśana lake was constructed is mentioned in these astronomical terms. Similarly the latter half is also interpreted by him in astronomical terms by suggesting that the Seven Sages had crossed 1/16th part of the total *aṁśas* or *kalās* (i.e. 800 *kalās*) or 1/60th part of the total number of degrees (i.e. 360) This would mean that these sages had spent 6 years out of 100 years in *Uttara* or *Uttara-Phalgunī-nakshatra*, which commenced in Śaka 374, thereby giving the data of Śaka 380 mentioned in the record.

In a Note on the date of this inscription published jointly by myself and S. Sankaranarayanan in the same volume of *Epigrapia Indiga*, we have proposed to read this date portion as follows :

> *Siddham . . . tasya vri (vṛi)ttasya 3000 20 Sapta=Rshaya Uttarāsu Pha [lguni*] shu Śakānāṁ 300 80*

For the first time we have read the numerical 3000 before the figure 20 in this date-portion. What has been read as *vrā* by Dr. Gokhale and as *vru* or *dhru* by Dr. Kolte before the figure 20 is, in fact, the numerical symbol for 3000. The letter *vra* or *dhra* or better *dhu* represents the numerical figure 1000 as can be seen from Plate LXXV of Pandit Ojha's Palaeographical Chart. The complete date of this record, is 3027 of the Yudhishṭhira year and we have tried to show that this year corresponds to Śaka 380 according to the Puranic tradition.

The date of this record has been recently discussed again by J. E. Mitchiner and Dr. B. N. Mukherjee. Mitchiner, who

has published his article in *Asiatic Society,* Monthly Bulletin for August 1978, reads the concerned portion as follows :

> *Siddham* I I (*Āndhra-*) *tasya vṛittasya 220 saptarshaya Uttarāsu Phalgunīsh$_u$ 380 Vākāṭakānāṁ etc.*

B. N. Mukherjee, in his article on the date of this record published in volume seven of this Society's journal, supports Mitchiner's reading of the figure 220. By restoring the lost word at the beginning as *[prachali]tasya,* he thinks that this year 220 would allude to a prevalent system of reckoning and suggests that this reckoning relates to the commencement of the Vākāṭaka rule in the year 237-38 A. D. and not to the ending of the Andhra rule as thought of by Mitchiner. I am sorry that it is not possible to agree with Mitchiner and Mukherjee in reading this date as 200 20 i.e. 220. Mukherjee states that a close scrutiny of the photograph published in *Epigraphia Indica* and also the examination of the record *in situ* would convince that the concerned symbol represents the figure 200 and resembles the figure for 200 as found on Kshatrapa coins. In this connection he refers us to Plate LXXIV of Ojha's *Indian Palaeography.* But a scrutiny of that plate shows that the symbols given by Ojha for 200 do not at all resemble the symbol of our inscription. On the other hand, the symbols given by Ojha in Plate LXXV for 1000, 2000 or 3000 closely resemble the symbol of our record. One symbol for 1000 in this plate is actually from a Vākāṭaka grant. Further, as pointed by us in our article mentioned above, the concerned symbol in the present inscription also resembles the symbol for 3000 found in the Nasik Cave Inscription of Ushavadāta *(Epigraphia Indica,* Vol.VIII, p. 82 and plate) published by Senart. In the same inscription, we also get the symbols for the figures 1000 and 2000 and they all resemble our symbol. For the numerical symbol to represent the figure 100 we may compare the symbol which is found in our record itself in respect of the figure 300 read by both Mitchiner and Mukherjee. This symbol for 100 is very dissimilar to that which we have read as representing 3000 but which these two scholars read as representing 200. We may also compare the symbols for 100 given by Ojha in Plate LXXIV of his book. Thus a closer scrutiny would convince anybody that the numerical symbol after the word *vṛittasya* in the Hisse-Bōrālā inscription represents the figure 3000 only and not 200 as thought of by these scholars. Hence the theory of reckoning the ending of the Andhra rule or the commencement of the Vākāṭaka rule is not tenable.

Lastly I would like to refer to the Umā-Mahēśvara Image Inscription from Skandar in Afghanistan. This record has been edited by me in the very first volume of the Society's journal. In this article I have given the reading and interpretation of this epigraph offered by the Japanese scholar Meiji Yamada and our eminent epigraphist D. C. Sircar. Since Yamada's reading and interpretation are very unsatisfactory and do not yield proper sense, we need not consider his views. The record contains only two stanzas intervened by a small prose passage. The first stanza states that one Supreme Form is manifested in three different forms of Vishṇu, Brahman and Mahēśvara. There is not much dispute about this reading and interpretation. But the second verse, which is stated as the saying of Mahādēva is, indeed, difficult to

read and interpret Sircar reads this verse as follows :

yē(ya)th=āg[n]im = agi(bhi)prakshipya viś [ō] dhā)dha)n-ōpalakshaṇaṁ (ṇaṁ।)

kṛitv=āhaṁ ch=aiva Vishṇuś=cha Vra (Bra)hmā cha nirayam gata [ḥ] ॥

He thinks that the purport of this verse is to say that in an attempt to purify themselves by throwing themselves into fire, the god Mahādēva as well as Vishṇu and Brahman went to hell. This interpretation is indeed strange and unconvincing. We have never heard from any source, Puranic or otherwise, that the three gods Brahman, Vishṇu and Mahēśvara attempted to purify themselves by throwing themselves into fire and went to hell.

Another eminent scholar Prof. V. V. Mirashi has given his reading and interpretation of this verse in his article published in the *Journal of Oriental Institute* (Baroda), Vol. XXV. His reading is as follows :

yadv = ātimatim = utkshipya vi(sta)rō n=ōpalabhyatē ।

Tadv=āhaṁ ch=aiva Vishṇuś=cha[Bra]-hmā cha vilayam gata[ḥ॥]*

Stating that this verse is difficult to interpret he suggests that its meaning is that though the three gods created the universe, they are not noticed therein (even) though one may give up one's selfconceit ; because they have disappeared from it. I am sorry to admit that this interpretation is also not satisfactory and convincing. We know that it was only Brahman who is the creator of the Universe and not all the three gods as thought of by Mirashi. And his statement that these gods are not noticed in the Universe even though one may give up one's conceit is not at all clear. Why one should give up one's conceit in order to notice them in the Universe ? Moreover, his reading of the words *utkshipya* and *vilayam* are not justified. Hence his view is untenable.

In my article mentioned above (Volume one of the Journal) I have read the verse as follows :

ya[d-v=āgni] ma(mū)ti(rti)[ḥ]pṛithivya (vyāṁ) visaramtē(nty = u)palabhyatē* ।

tad-vā = haṁ ch = aiva Vishṇuś = cha Brahmā cha ti (tri)tayaṁ gatā[ḥ]*

This article was published earlier than that of Prof. Mirashi. According to me, this verse would mean that just as Agni is manifested in different forms, so also the one Supreme Being is manifested in three different forms of Mahēśvara, Vishṇu and Brahman. This interpretation is in perfect consonance with the first verse which has been read by me as :

Ēka-mūrttis=tri-dhā jātā Vra (Bra)hmā Vishṇur-Mmahēśvaraḥ ।

bharttā Vishṇuḥ kṛi(kri)yā Brahmā hāraṇaṁ tu Mahēśvaraḥ ॥

This syncretising conception of the Hindus has been traced to the Ṛigvēdic period in that grand verse *ēkaṁ sad - viprā bahudhā vadanty=Agniṁ yamaṁ*, etc. (RV., I, 164, 46). And more suitable to the second verse of our inscription is the stanza :

Agnir=yath=aikō bhuvanaṁ pravishṭō rūpaṁ rūpaṁ prati-rūpaṁ babhūva ।

ēkas=tathā sarva-bhūt-āntar-ātmā rūpaṁ rūpāṁ prati-rūpō bahiś=cha ॥

found in the Kaṭhōpanishat (II, ii, 9). Further Agni is described in Mahābhārata as: *tvaṁ kartā ch = ānta ēva cha tvaṁ dhārayasi lōkāṁs = tṛin* i.e. Agni is the creator, sustainer and destroyer and thus a *Trimūrti*. I do hope that this august assembly of scholars will agree with my reading and interpretation of this Skandar Image Inscription which reflects the grand Hindu conception found in the Vedic, Upanishadic and Epic mythologies and prevalent in the Afghanistan region in the 6th-7th century A.D. to which period our record is referred to on palaeographical grounds.

Friends, we have assembled today in the birth place of the Epigraphical Society of India. This is also the place which announced the discovery of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra to the world of scholars way back in 1909-10. Further the origin of the Office of the present Director of Epigraphy happens to be not far away from Mysore i.e., within 100 miles at Bangalore where Hulizsch, the father of Indian Epigraphy, particularly South Indian Epigraphy, started his office way back in 1886-87 from where it was shifted to Ootacamund in 1896 and after remaining there for 70 long years it was shifted back to Karnataka at Mysore in 1966. Since this office has just completed 100 years of its existence, may I suggest, urge and request our Additional Director General, Archaeological Survey of India Shri M. C. Joshi to arrange for the centenary celebrations of this world-renowned office.

I hope the delegates will have very heated and fruitful deliberations for these three days. Finally I thank you all for giving me a patient hearing.

2. IDENTIFICATION OF PLACE NAMES IN SOHGAURA BRONZE PLAQUE

T. P. Verma

An inscription on a castplaque was discovered from Sohgaura, a village near Bansgaon, a tahsil place in the Gorakhpur district in U.P. at the close of the last century. It was first reported in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894, pp. 84 ff. by Dr. W. Hoey, the then Collector of Gorakhpur district. Since then it gives the impression that the discovery of this plate was done by Dr. Hoey. But this was not the whole truth. From a letter of Mr. W. Vost dated 12-3-03 it is known that the real discoverer of this plaque was one Pt. Sarbjeet Prasad Ram Tiwari of the village Sohgaura. In this letter he writes 'I was fortunate in making acquaintance of Pt. Sarbjeet Prasad Ram Tiwari of Sohgaura, the gentleman who gave the copper-plate to Dr. Hoey (Shukla, 1987, p. 16)'. The village Sohgaura is about six miles east of Bansgaon. Thus it is quite possible that the plaque had come from Bansgaon, the place mentioned in the inscription itself, but since it was handed over to Dr. Hoey by a resident of Sohgaura, the name of this place was attached with the name of the plaque.

Since the very beginning it is called a plate or copper-plate. But it is D.C. Sircar who after re-examining the original one in the Asiatic Society found that it was not a copper-plate but a bronze plaque measuring 2 1/2'' in height, 1 7/8'' breadth and 1/16'' in thickness. It weighs 5 1/5 tolas.[1] It was a cast piece which fact was recognised earlier by V.A. Smith who pointed out that in this particular respect it is different from all other *tāmraśāsanas*. Dr. Hoernle inferred from the unevenness of its surface that it was cast in a sand-mould of imperfect smoothness in consequence of which various meaningless dots stand between the letters that may be easily mistaken for *anusvāra*. But on the other hand Fleet[2] thought that it is improbable that such small lettering could have been satisfactorily arranged in sand and suggested that the plaque was cast from hard or fairly hard mould. The plaque has four holes on the four corners, a fact which was recognised earlier, but Sircar suggests that it was made at a later date. But he does not seem correct in this observation because it appears that a provision for the holes must have been made before preparing the mould for casting because there is a gap between the last two letters *va* and *ya* of the last line to leave space available for the hole. Had it been done at a later stage one of these letters must have been damaged by the hole. Similarly to adjust the left lower hole the first letter *la* of the last line was placed at a little lower level as compared to other letters of the last line. The upper two holes were made at the space where there is no writing. There can be no doubt that these holes were intended to attach it by rivets to some other object, perhaps at a suitable place on the store-houses themselves.

The four line inscription on the plaque and the illustrations above it indicate that this proclamation of the *mahāmātras* of Śrāvastī was for the two store-houses situated at two different places or villages, as we shall see a little later. There can

be no wonder if two such plaques were prepared for both the places. To have a correct understanding of the situation it seems necessary to have a correct reading of the inscription. George Buhler[3] gives the text of the inscription as follows :

1 Savatiyana mahamagana sasane Manavasitika-

2 ḍa Silimate Vasagame va ete duve koṭhagalani

3 tighavani mathula chacha maṁdama bhalakana chha-

4 la kamiyati atiyāyikaya no gahitavaya

Then he restores the text after supplying long vowels and *anusvāras* in the following way :

1 Sāvatīyāna mahāmagāna sāsane Mānavasitika-

2 ḍā । Silimāte (or Silimaṁte) Vaṁsagāme va ete duve koṭhāgālāni

3 tighavani māthula chācha modaṁma bhālakāna chha

4 la kayīyati ātiyāyikāya । no gahitavayam

His Sanskrit rendering and English translation of the epigraph are as follows :

Śrāvastīyānāṁ mahāmātrāṇāṁ śāsanaṁ Mānavasiti kaṭāt । Śrīmati Vaṁśagrāma ēv=aitē dvē kōshṭhāgārē trigarbhē madhukā lāj-ājamōd-āmba bhārakāṇāṁ kshalaṁ kāryīyata ātyāyikāya । nō grahītavyam ॥

"The order of the great officials of Śrāvastī, (issued) from (their camp at) Mānavasitikaṭa :. 'These two store houses with three portions, (which are situated) even in famous Vaṁśagrāma require the storage of loads (*bhāraka*) of Madhuka, parched grain, cummin seed and Āmba (for times of) urgent need. One should not take (any thing from the grain stored.)"

D. C. Sircar[4] while agreeing broadly with Buhler gives his reading and Sanskrit rendering as follows :

1 Savatiyana mahamagana sasane Manavasitika-

2 da [*।] Silimate vasagame va ete dave koṭhagalani

3 tighavani [।*] Māthula Cha[cha] Modama Bhalakana chha-

4 la kayiyati atiyāyikaya [।*] no gahiga-(ta)vaya [*॥]

Text Sanskritized :

Srāvastīyānāṁ mahāmātrāṇāṁ śāśanaṁ Mānavāśiti kaṭataḥ । Śrīmān Vaṁśagrāma (= tad = ākhya-grāma-dvaya sthitau) ēva ētou dvou kōshṭhāgārou trigarbhou (= tritalou) । [ētou mahāmātraiḥ] Māthura-Chañcha-Mayudāma-Bhallakānaṁ [grāmāṇāṁ*] ksharaḥ (=śasyādi-vitaraṇaṁ) kāryētē ātyayikāyāṁ (=durbhiksh-ādi-vipatkālē)। [subhiksha-kālē kaiśchit] nō grahītavyam ॥

Although this epigraph is supposed to be pre-Aśōkan or even pre-Maurya but palaeographically it is Mauryan (Sircar, 1965, 82). Our main concern is the identification of the places mentioned in it. But at the outset it must be noted that we do not agree with Prof. Sircar that Mathula, Chacha, Modama and Bhalakana are the names of the villages. Similarly the view of Dr. Jayaswal is also untenable that Tighavani can be Trivēṇi.[5]

With this, we can proceed with our

proposal to discuss the identification of place names. The record mentions only four places. The first one is Śrāvastī which is the first word. It says about the *mahāmātras* of Śrāvastī who issued the proclamation. In Mauryan administration the *mahāmātra* was a cadre of officials, who were appointed at different places for different works of administration and social work. The second place is Mānavāsiti, from which camp the proclamation was issued. These two names occur in the first line. In the second line of the epigraph also, two places are named where two store-houses were established. These are *Silimate* and *Vasagame*. Buhler takes Silimate as standing for (Silimāte or Silimante =) 'Śrīmati as adjective for the next word Vasagame ; and thus arrives at the meaning 'in famous Vaṅśagrāma'. This proposition of Buhler was accepted without question by almost all the scholars. J. F. Fleet appears to have confused on account of his vast knowledge and grammatical juggllery as well as his sticking to his reading of the text by joining the first letter of second line with the word *silimate*, taking it as a *ḍasilimate*. He observes that "The word *ete duve*, these two, might represent either *ẹte duvē* (neuter) in apposition with *koshṭhāgāre*, or *ētau dvau* (masculine) in apposition with *grāmau*, nomin. duel of *grāma*, understood as being implied by *game* for *grāmē* in *Usagāme*. If we take *etau dvau*, we can obtain the meaning :- 'Ḍasilimata and Usagāma, indeed, these two (villages) are caused to be made storehouses, or converted into storehouses". Upto this point he seems to have proceeded in the right direction. But when he argues further, he confuses himself. He further says "But it does not seem very likely that two entire villages, even if small ones, should be converted into storehouses ; especially, since the storehouses are shown as actual buildings in the devices on the plate above the inscription". "With *ētē duē*, we might obtain the meaning :- 'Ḍasilimata and Usagāma, indeed, these two storehouses, are caused to be made'. But it does not seem altogether probable that two storehouses should thus receive specific names". "I prefer, taking *ētē dvē*, to apply the preceeding names as locatives :- 'In, actually, (the villages named) Ḍasilimata and Usagāma, these two storehouses' etc. I must add that I do not find any approaches to such village names in the map : except in the case of a place shown as 'Oonchgaon', — which I take as meaning Uñchgaṁv or Uñchhgāmv, not Uṁvshgaṁv, — near the right bank of the Rapti, about eleven miles north-north-west from Sohgaura ; . . . . "[6] But this identification of Fleet should be rejected in favour of Bansgaon which is almost universally accepted.

But his suggestion that there is a reference to two separate villages in the inscription must be honoured. D. C. Sircar also, in his Sanskrit version of the text, clearly states that Śrīmān and Vaṁśagrāma are two separate villages. Thus the question of the identification of the village Śrīmān or Śrīmant is of prime importance. I venture to suggest the name of the village Siravanta of the Naugarh tahsil of Siddharthanagara district, (formerly Basti district). This village is situated on the Bansi-Shohratgarh road near the Sanai crossing. From this crossing the other road to north goes to Lumbini via Naugarh. The place is very near from the Sanai crossing to the west. A few years back I had occasion to visit the place and I found there two wells which still contain Mauryan bricks and some other ruins. Undoubtedly the site is an ancient one. The village is alternatively

called Sirmata as well. Taking into account the phonetic similarity and the ancient look of the site we have no doubt about the site being the same mentioned in the Sohgaura record as *Silimate*. The vicinity of the area is full of ancient sites and some of them have historical importance,[7]

Shohratgarh is a station on the Gorakhpur-Gonda loop line of N E. Railway. It is connected by road with Naugarh and Bansi. Shohratgarh is a modern name after its Jamindar Raja Shohrat Singh. Its ancient name was Chāndāpār and I wish to identify the place with the birth place of 'the Past Buddha *Ka-lo-ka-ts'un-tē* (that is, Krakachunda or Krakucchanda, the Kakusandha of the Pali scriptures)[8]. To the east of it, at a distance of six miles is Chilhia station. Its old name was Kanavā. The potters of this place are very famous for making black-polished pots which they sell in a very wide area. This also is an ancient site. I wish to identify this place with the birth place of 'the Past Buddha Ka-no-ka-mou-ni (Kanakamuni)'. Yuan Chwang describes the distance 'above 30 *li* (six miles) north-east from this old city' (of Krakuchchanda). Here also he saw a stone pillar more than twenty feet high with a lion capital. At present the Aśokan pillar containing the inscription in four lines is lying on the bank of a small pond in the territory of Nepal. This pond is called Nigālī Sāgar because the local people know it as the *Nigālī* (tobacco pipe) of Bhīmasēna, the famous hero of Mahābhārata. On this account the name of the nearby village is Niglivā or Nigalihavā. It is believed by some that the pillar was shifted to this place by the Mallas in the medieval period. An inscription of these Mallas is also engraved on the pillar. Thus Chāndāpār (modern name Shohratgarh) and Kanavā (modern name Chilhia) can be identified with the places of Krakuchchanda Buddha and Kanakamuni Buddha, respectively, on account of the ancient looks of the sites and also the phonetic resemblence of the names. Kapilavastu is now definitely identified with the Piparahva[9] and now the distances between these places, as given by Yuan Chwang, can be more or less verified. Sirvant, the place mentioned in the Sohgaura plaque is about three miles south of Chilhia or ancient Kanava. Again it is less than sixty miles from Bansgaon or Sohgaura by road. Buhler observes that "The distance of the find-spot of the plate from the site of Śrāvasti, the modern Sahet-Mahet, is about eighty miles and hence not too great for the assumption that Sohgaura belonged to the commissionership or province of Śrāvasti, which in very early times was not only a very large town but the capital of a kingdom." Perhaps he calculated the distance from the map but our calculation is based on road. Sirvant is inbetween Śrāvasti and Sohgaura or Bansgāon. Thus there can be no doubt that Sirvant was within the jurisdiction of Śrāvasti.

Bansi is an important tahsil place on the right bank of river Rapti and is an ancient site. It is connected by road from Bansgāon - Gorakhpur - Khalilabad - Bansi-Shohratgarh etc. I venture to identify the Manavasitikaḍa with Bansi because Śrāvasti, Bansi and Bansgāon are situated on the bank of river Rapti, a position which was considered important in ancient times for the water-way facilities, and also because Bansi is an extensive important ancient site. About more than a century earlier, the river Rapti used to flow from the south of the township of Bansi but now it flows at the north of it. The meander of the river to the west

of the town Bansi is still in existence which is called *Ḍahariyā* by the local people. The old course of the river is called Burhi Rapti which still flows during the rainy season. In the town and on the both sides of the river, a good number of antiquities are found.

Buhler writing about the Mānavasitikaṭa says that "Mānavasitikaḍa the next word after Sāsane is no doubt the ablative singular of the name of a place. Names of towns ending in *kaṭa*, or with the softening of the tenuis in *kaḍa*, are not uncommon in modern and ancient India. In the Sāñchī votive inscriptions as well as in literary works there are many instances. In all such names *kaṭa - kaḍa* appears to have the same meaning as Sanskrit *kaṭaka*, 'camp, royal camp'. With respect to the first part of the compound Mānavasiti it is not possible to suggest any certain explanation. It may however, represent a Sanskrit compound *mānavāśriti* or *mānavasati*". D.C. Sircar takes it to be Mānavāśīti-kaṭataḥ. But however it is not clear if this place was a permanent camping place or temporary one. At the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to say any thing on the point. But this seems certain that Mānavāsiti was an important place from where the *mahāmātras* of Śrāvasti could issue orders like this which was to take effect on the places to the south and north of it. Most probably it was some administrative sub-headquarter.

It is a pertinent question as how the word Mānavāsiti could become Bansi. One must know that changes in the names always do not follow definite rules. The main rule which can be pointed out is rule of easy pronounceablity by the people. Otherwise how one can explain the change of Śrāvasti into Sahet-Mahet ? In local use some superfluous letters and syllables are dropped out. In the same process *māna* and *ti* were dropped during the long period of usage, and only *vāsī* remained which later changed into Bāsi and still later into Bansi. From Mānavāsitī it became Manavāsī and then Vāsī and then Bāsī and Bānsī.

I would like to identify this Mānavāsitikaṭa with the village Manasākaṭa mentioned in *Dīghanikāya* in *Tevijjasutta* and *Aṭṭakathā*. G. P. Malalasekera (1960, p 440) describes it as follows :

'Manasākaṭa : A brāhmaṇa village in Kōsala on the banks of the Achirāvatī. It was a beautiful spot, and eminent brāhmaṇas would collect there from time to time in order to find rest and quiet and recite their *mantras* (DA, ii, 399). Buddha stayed in the mango-grove to the north of the village, and, during one such stay, preached the Tevijja Sutta (D : i. 235).

In this village of Manasākaṭa, which was situated on the banks of the river Achirāvatī, there lived many *abhijāta* (i e. famous or born in noble families) and *mahāsāla* (wealthy, living in big houses) brāhamaṇas, such as Chanki-brāhmaṇas, Tārukkha-brāhmaṇas, Todeyya-brāhmaṇas, Pōkkhara-sāti-brāhmaṇas and many other *abhijāta* and *mahāsāla* brāhmaṇas. These brāhmaṇas were Tevijja (or Trivēdins, who were conversant in the three Vedas). Buddha gave them a sermon which is known as *Tevijja-Sutta*, and is considered very important one.

At present the township of Bansi is divided into two parts by the river Rapti (ancient Achirāvatī) and the northern part is called Narakaṭahā which reminds us of the word Manasākaṭa. The former zamindar of Bansi, popularly known as Raja of Bansi,

lives in the Narakaṭahā which may be considered as a corrupt and changed form of the village Manasākaṭa. Above we have given alternative process of change of the word Mānavāsitikaṭa into Bansi. Thus there can be no doubt about our identification of Bansi Narakaṭahā with Mānavāsitikaṭa of the Sohgaura inscription.

Thus we find that only four place names are mentioned in the Sohgaura Bronze Plaque. First is the provincial capital Śrāvastī which is well known. The second is Mānavāsīti which must have been some administrative headquarters from which camp this record was issued. This we have identified with the modern tahsil place Bansi in Siddharthanagara (old Basti district). The third and fourth places are the villages where the storehouses were to be established. About the Vasagama, that is Bansagāon, there is no dispute. As regards Silimata, we have identified it with the village Siravant in the Naugarh tahsil of Siddharthanagara district. According to *sūtra ralayōrabhēdaḥ* the *ra* and *la* are inter-changeable. And therefore Sirimata can change into Silimata. Apart from these, no other place name is mentioned in this epigraph.

Notes :-

1. Sircar, D.C., Notes on Some Inscriptions in the collection of the Asiatic Society, *JASL.*, vol. VIII (1952), pp. 1-3.
2. Fleet, J. F., the text on Sohgaura copper-plate, *JRAS.*, vol. XXI, (1907), pp. 509-533.
3. Buhler, George, The Sohgaura copper-plate, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXV (1896), pp. 261-266.
4. Sircar, D.C., *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. I, (1965) 2nd edition, Calcutta, pp. 82-83.
5. Jayaswal, K.P., The Text on Sohgaura plate, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII (1933), pp. 1-3.
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3. A KHAROSHTI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 126 OF THE AZES ERA

B. N. Mukherjee

An interesting inscription in North-Western Prakrit (Gandhārī Prakrit) and the Kharoshṭī (Kharoshṭhī) script[1] has recently been published by G. Fussman in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient* [Paris, 1985, vol. LXXIV, pp. 47 f]. However, since Fussman's interpretation of the text leave some room for improvement, we propose to re-edit the document.

The epigraph is inscribed on four sides of a square box of achist stone. Its provenance is not known. It bears inscription on four sides, other than the bottom (which is not engraved) and the lid (which is missing). The reading of the lines on all four sides shows that they form parts of one and the same text and were obviously inscribed on one single occasion. G. Fussman has correctly arranged the sequence of the sections (numbered A, B, C and D), each on one of the four sides of the box, and lines of the text.

The inscription can be read and translated as follows (figs. 1–4).

TEXT

Section A — L 1. *Savatsaraye shaviśavasha-śatima'e*

L 2. *Maharajasa Mahatasa Ayasa Kalagada -*

L 3. *sa Ashaḍasa masasa [di]vasa* (*blank space*) *mi*

L 4. *treviśami 'iśa divasami*

L 5. *ya'u'asa rakshami 'i*

L 6. *maharajasa ṇa'imitra*

L 7. (Written transversely in the space on the left of the above lines) *Vhija'o*

Section B — L 8. *[tre] hani'a ya'o puya'e*

L 9. *yena 'i 'a vihare pradeṭha*

L 10. *vede*

Section C — L 11. *'i śarira aḍi pradeṭhavida*

L 12. *Pri'a - Vo* (should be *va*) *saga shamaṇasa*

L 13. *'imeya śarira pradeṭhavi*

L 14. *da i daṇamuhe Pri'a-Va*

L 15. (= 1.4 of section D) *-śa[ga]sa shamaṇasa*

Section D — L 16. *madapida puya'ita -*

L 17. *Mahishada* (should be *sa*)*gaṇa 'u'iri -*

L 18. *'aṇa parigrahami*

TRANSLATION

In the one hundred (and) twentysixth year of the Great King the Great Aya of past time, on the twentythird day of the month of Āshāḍha, on this date, in (i.e. for) the protection of the yabuga and for the merit whatsoever (*Ya'o* < *Yato*) of the Great King, the relative (and) friend (or new friend ?) Vhijaya (= Vijaya ?) Trehani'a (*Trāsanīya*, "frightening") (.) By whom this monastery has been founded, [by himself] (-Monk Pri'a Vaśaga)] the corporeal relics are caused to be established today (.) These corporeal relics of (i.e. donated by) the monk Pri'a Vaśaga have been caused to be established, which is (i.e. which the relics constitute) the principal donation of the monk Pri'a Vaśaga (.) The mother and father are honoured. [The donation is given] in (i.e. for) the acceptance of the Mahiśāsaka teachers.

The inscription is dated in the era of the Great King, the Great Aya of past time. It has already been established that the reckoning began with regnal years of the Scytho-Parthian monarch Azes I and developed into a regular era after his death.[2] Our record is to be placed after the end of his reign. G. Fussman takes the date of the record as the year 26 and thinks that Azes I ceased to rule before that year.[3] But the reading *savatsarakē shaviśavashasa-tima'e* can only mean "in the hundred twentysixth year" (*samvatsarakē shaḍavimśa-ti-varsha-śatatamē*). This interpretation is supported by the readings "*sam̐batsara'e tiśatima's 1* [×] *100* [+] *1* [+] *1* [+ *1*] (i.e. 103)" in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription[4] and "*sam̐vatsaraye ekadaśa śatimaye 1* [×] *100* [+] *10* [+] *1* (i.e. 110)" in the Paja epigraph[5].

Fussman is, therefore, wrong in assigning the document to the 26th year of the Azes era. It is not the earliest, but one of the latest known records explicitly referring to that reckoning. Since the Azes Era was perhaps the same as the era of 58 B.C.,[6] the epigraph may be dated to c. A.D. 67–68 (taking the year concerned as a current year).

The vowel letter *'i* is used here for *ya* (*i sarira* < *yāni sarirāni*) and also for *cha* (*'a'iriaṇa* < *āchāryāṇām*). The word *ya'u'a* and its variant *yavu'a* occurs also on coins of the Kushāṇa ruler Kujula Kadaphes.[7] The term *ya'vu'a* < *yavuga* is equated with the title *hsi-hou* (*yavgu*) appearing in the *Ch'ien Han-shu* and the *Hou Han-shu* in connection with the history of the Yüeh-chih.[8] The expression *yavuga* may have been derived *yam* - ('to lead') with *-v-* from *-m-* and the regular suffix *-uka*, to be set beside Parthian *ymg*, **yamay* and Persian *Z myg*, **Z m īy*, meaning "leader".[9] The word *yavuga* can also be explained as connected with an Iranian **Yavuka* or *Yāvuka*, meaning "gatherer of a troop, troop-leader, etc".

No doubt the title was used by the Yüeh-chih (Kushāṇas). But its occurrence of in

this record, does not necessarily identify the yavuga concerned as a Kushāṇa chief. The title could have been used by others.

The document records the installation of the supposed corporeal relics of the Buddha by a monk called Pri'a Vaśaga (Priya Vaṁśaka ?) in a monastery founded by himself. The pious act was performed for seeking protection for a yavuga, perhaps a local chief, and in honour of a relative of the donor who had the title of *mahārāja,* indicating him as an independent or subordinate ruler. His another epithet *trehani'a* may perhaps be related to *trāsanīya* ("frightening").

Notes :-

1. For the justification of spelling the name of the script concerned as Kharoshṭī (< *Kharosti*) see the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1981, vol. XXIII, nos. 1-2, pp. 144f.
2. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, 1977-78, vol. XI, pp. 103f.
3. *BEFEO*, 1985, vol. LXXIV, pp. 48-49.
4. S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśōka*, Calcutta, 1929, p. 62.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
6. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, - *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1914, p. 181.
7. *Ch'ien Han-shu*, (T'ung-wen shu-chu edition) ch. 96A, p. 14b ; *Hou Han-shu* (Sau-pu pei-yao edition), ch. 118, p. 9a.
8. K. Hoffman and others (editors), *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. IV, *Iranistik*, pt. 1 - *Linguistik*, p. 136.
9. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1972, p. 107.

4 ANJANERI PLATES OF BHOGASAKTI, RE EXAMINED

H. S. Thosar

Two sets of copperplates from Añjanēri in Nasik district of Maharashtra have been edited by M. S. Vatsa and Diskalkar[1] and re-edited by V. V. Mirashi.[2] These charters were issued by a king named Pṛithvīchandra Bhōgaśakti of Hariśchandra family who ruled over a large area covering Koṅkaṇ and the adjoining districts of Western Maharashtra as a subordinate of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi. The editors have rightly pointed out to the existence of a hitherto unknown royal family which flourished during the 7th and the 8th centuries of the Christian era. A minute study of the records under review however reveals the immense historical importance of the plates which has not been taken into account so far.

Bhōgaśakti claims descent from Hariśchandra and mentions the names of his father and grandfather as Siṁhavarman and Svāmichandra respectively. The inscription states that the Vātāpi Chālukya king Vikramāditya I bestowed upon Svāmichandra the rulership of Puri–Koṅkaṇa 14000. We have inscriptional evidence about the appointment of Dharāśraya Jayasimha Chālukya by his elder brother and overlord Vikramāditya I as the governor of Nasik, Koṅkaṇ and Gujarat.[3] It is possible that during the later part of his reign, Vikramāditya I might have assigned southern Gujarat to his kindsmen and Nasik and Koṅkaṇ given in charge of Svāmichandra. It is further curious to note that the kingdom of Puri-Koṅkaṇa has been described with the numerical appelation of 14000. Two traditional divisions of Koṅkaṇ frequently occur in inscriptions as North Koṅkaṇ or Puri-koṅkaṇa-1400 and South Koṅkaṇa-900.[4] Since the kingdom of Svāmichandra and Bhōgaśakti is described as Puri-koṅkaṇa 14000, it can be inferred that besides North and South Koṅkaṇ it included the adjoining districts of Nasik, Ahmednagar and Pune also.

No attempt has been made so far to trace the ancestry of this ruling family. Mirashi has pointed out that Hariśchandra was the progenitor of this family. His descendents probably had Hariśchandragaḍh in Ahmednagar district as their headquarters which according to him was named after the founder's name. The observation may be correct. But he has not made it clear as to who this Hariśchandra was ? The only possible answer to this question is Harichandra, the progenitor of the Gūrjara dynasty of Rajputana who though originally was a brāhmaṇa is said to have founded a kingdom at Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor in Rajastan) in the middle of the sixth century A D.[5] He had four sons named Bhōgabhaṭa. Kakka, Rājila and Dadda ; all of whom are said to have ruled after him. The history of the third and fourth sons is known but no information has come forward so far about the historicity of Bhōgabhaṭa and Kakka. Bhōgabhaṭa was probably the ancestor of Bhōgaśakti of the Añjanēri plates. The following points substantiate this conjecture.

1) There is a striking similarity between the names of Harichandra, the founder of the Gūrjara house and Hariśchandra the ancestor of Bhōgaśakti. As both these names

have been mentioned in the inscriptions of their descendents, there should not be any doubt about their historicity.

2) Naming the descendents after their ancestors has been a longstanding practice in ancient India with a scriptural sanction.[6] That is why we come across the frequent occurrences of certain names in several royal genealogies. The possibility of Bhōgaśakti's name as an imitation of the name of Bhogābhaṭa, the eldest son of Harichandra Gūrjara therefore can not be ruled out.

3) The date of the Añjanēri plates is 709–710 A.D., and the probable date of Harichandra Gūrjara is 550 A.D. There is thus a period of about a century and a half between the reigns of Hariśchandra and Bhōgaśakti, in which five generations; (1) Harichandra, (2) Bhōgabhaṭa, (3) Svāmichandra, (4) Simhavarmarāja and (5) Bhōgaśakti can easily be fixed by assigning the reigning period of 35 years to each of them. In this way the date also does not militate against this identification.

4) Common name endings was another significant factor in the naming pattern of royal families in ancient India. In this respect the suffix 'chandra' occurring in the names of Svāmichandra and Pṛithvīchandra Bhōgaśakti himself certainly speaks of their common origin.

5) The contemporory political conditions also indirectly support this surmise. According to the Añjanēri plates, Svāmichandra, the grandfather of Bhōgaśakti was the contemporary of Chālukya Vikramāditya I. If we assume him to be the son of Bhōgabhaṭa and grandson of Harichandra Gūrjara, it would lead to the contemporanity of Bhōgabhaṭa with Pulakēśin II. During this period the Gūrjaras of Nandipuri, a collateral branch of the Gūrjaras of Rajputana were ruling over Lāṭa as subordinates of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi.[7] The possibility of Pulakēśin II's contact with Bhōgabhaṭa, the son of Harichandra Gūrjara during the course of his war against Harshavardhana and Bhōgabhaṭa's entry into the service of Pulakēśin II cannot be ruled out as unhistorical. If this is accepted, the rule of this family in Western Maharashtra could be pushed back by one more generation. In this respect the description of the Nārāyaṇa temple at Jayapura occurring in the Añjarnēri plates is interesting. The inscription registers endowments to the Nārāyaṇa temple by Bhōgaśakti which was built by Bhōgēśvara. (*Bhōgēśvarēṇa sthāpitaṁ*). The editors have identified this Bhōgēśvara with Bhōgaśakti the grantor himself. But it does not seem to be so because when Bhōgaśakti registered the grant the temple was already in existence. Had it been built by Bhōgaśakti, he would have mentioned it. On the contrary, he records his endowment to the Nārāyaṇa temple and describes it as built by Bhōgēśvara who obviously was different from Bhōgaśakti. This leads us to assign the authorship of the Nārāyaṇa temple at Jayapura to Bhōgabhaṭa to which Bhōgaśakti probably later on made these endowments. This clearly suggests the rulership of an ancestor of Bhōgaśakti in Maharashtra who was his namesake also.

The Añjanēri plates mention the name of king Tējavarman as the executor of the grants. Besides, Tējavarman has separately recorded his endowment probably at a later date to the same Nārāyaṇa temple at Jayapura, on the back side of grant No. A. The editors presume that he was probably the son and successor of Bhōgaśakti which

seems to be logical. In the light of the identifications referred to above, the complete geneology of this ruling dynasty can be worked out as under.

Hariśchandra or Harichandra Gūrjara

- Bhōgabhaṭa or Bhōgēśvara
  - Svāmichandra
    - Siṁhavarman or Siṁhavarmarāja
      - Pṛithvīchandra - Bhōgaśakti
        - Tējavarman
- Kakka
- Rājila (Gūrjaras of Merṭa)
- Dadda (Gūjraras of Nandipurī)

A long list of place names occurs in the grant portion of the Añjanēri plates. The editors have tried to identify some of them but the modern equivalents of most of the inscriptional placenames as suggested by them are not convincing. Some of the place names have bearing on the contemporary history and culture of Western Maharashtra and Koṅkaṇ. Jayapura where the Nārāyaṇa temple was located and to which Bhōgaśakti had made several endowments is one of such place names. It is mentioned in grant 'A' in connection with the endowments made by Bhōgaśakti as well as in the supplementary grant made by Tējavarmaṇ. The editors have stated it to be the capital of the Hariśchandra kings and have identified the place with Jarvador (Jarhar bk), 10 miles south west of Añjanēri in Nasik district.

The Añjanēri plates also refer to 'several other temples' at Jayapura besides the Nārāyaṇa temple. It further describes the annual *yātrā* festival held in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. The *yātrā* festival was arranged by a committee of 5 or 10 merchants of Jayapura. The maintainence of the temple and the daily routine of worship and rituals were also looked after by the same committee. For the expenditure incurred on these matters a fixed amount was deposited by the king with the merchant guild of Jayapura. Jayapura was an important township, a trading centre studded with several temples, and known for its annual *yātrā mahōtsava* in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. The modern equivalent as suggested by the editors does not have any trace of its past glory referred to above. Considering the inscriptional details referred to above

Jayapura should be identified with Jejuri, near Pune which is the chief seat of Mallāri or Khaṇḍobā in Maharashtra and which is famous because of the *yātrā* festival called Champāshashṭi annually held in the bright fortnight of Mārgaśirsha. It is a large town and situated on a hill with the appearance of an old fortified capital. It is a trading centre and studded with several temples.[8] Philologically also Jejuri can be treated as the modern Marāṭhī equivalent of the Sanskrit name Jayapuri, with the change of second syllable 'ya' into 'ja'. If this identification is accepted, it will shed new light on the antiquity of the deity of Khaṇḍōbā and Jejuri where the temple for that god is located.

According to Shri G.H. Khare, Khaṇḍoba or Mallāri is a deity resulted out of the combination of Śiva and Pārvatī. In the records of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi, it is described as the protecting deity of the Chālukya royal family. The Añjanēri plates have recorded the existence of several temples at Jayapura, one of which might have been of Skanda. The *yātrā* festival though initially started at the Nārāyaṇa temple later on might have been celebrated in other temples also. The rule of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi thus resulted in the popularity of god Kārtikēya in Maharashtra with the local form of Khaṇḍoba. The deity is worshipped by all the castes of the Hindus. The Añjanēri plates thus trace the antiquity of the Khaṇḍobā and Jejuri to 7th century of the Christian era.

The second Añjanēri charter named as grant 'B' is a unique epigraphic record. It does not mention endowments to a brāhmaṇa or a religious institution as normally found in other inscriptions but records the recolonization of the townships of Samagiripaṭṭaṇa and Chandrapuri which obviously were deserted by their inhabitants some time before the date of this inscription. Following is the extract from the charter. "Be it known to you that the deserted lands comprised within the township of Samagiri-paṭṭaṇa alongwith Chandrapuri and the hamlets of Ambayapallikā, Savānēyapallikā and Morēyapallikā as well as Kamsaripallikā have been recolonized by me and vested in the town council headed by the merchants Ela and Karpuṭa".

The inscription also registers some special concessions to attract merchants towards Samagiripaṭṭaṇa such as : 1) exemption from the payment of customs duties throughout the kingdom, 2) immunities from certain laws like confiscation of heirless property and offering free services to state officials, 3) They were further empowered to levy duties or fines.

The above extract undoubtedly points out that Samagiripaṭṭaṇa and Chandrapuri were once flourishing commercial centres which were probably destroyed by foreign agression. The editors have not been able to locate Samagiripaṭṭaṇa. They have suggested Chandrāchimet in Nasik district as the present equivalent of Chandrapuri, but this identification can not be accepted because the village in question does not look like an ancient trade centre as mentioned in the inscription. Secondly from the description of these two place names in the inscription they seem to be twin cities. There is no place near Chandrāchi Mēt which can be treated as the present equivalent of Samagiri.

Samagiri vishaya has been mentioned in the Bopgaon or Nirguṇḍi plates of Vātāpi Chālukya king Vijayāditya of the same

period.[10] It is probably identical with Samagiripaṭṭaṇa of the Añjanēri plates. On the basis of the findspot of this inscription it has been identified with Purandar fort near Pune. But there is no phonetical similarity between Samagiri and Purandar. Secondly it does not have any tradition of having been a trading centre in the past as mentioned in the Añjanēri plates. The destruction of Samagiri and Chandrapuri indicates that besides having been commercial centres they had some administrative and historical importance also. The special attention paid by Bhōgaśakti for the recolonization of them makes us to infer that Samagiri and Chandrapuri were once royal seats as well as commercial towns which were destroyed recently.

A place named Chandrapura is mentioned in the Jāñjira plates of Śilāhāra Aparājita which has been identified with Chandor in Goa.[11] The identification is doubtful because Aparājita was ruling over North Koṅkaṇ when Goa and South Koṅkaṇ were under the jurisdiction of a collateral branch of the Śilāhāras. The same place name with its variant Chandra-maṇḍala is also mentioned in the Paṭṭanakuḍi[12] and Khārēpāṭan[13] plates of Śilāhāras of South Koṅkaṇ which has not been identified. According to the Khārēpāṭan plates Chandrapura or Chandra-maṇḍala was conquered by the southern Śilāhāra kings Aiyaparāja and Bhīma. In lines 56-61 of the same inscription it is stated that "Raṭṭarāja assigned a *gadyāṇa* of gold from every vessel arriving from foreign lands and a *dhāraṇa* of gold from every ship arriving from Kandalamuliya, excepting Chēmulya and Chandrapura". This Chandrapura appears to be identical with Chandrapuri of the Añjanēri plates. Its description as given in the Khārēpāṭan plates clearly shows that it was a sea port and situated near Chēmulya, i.e. Chaul in North Koṅkaṇ.

Considering all these facts Chandrapura or Chandrapuri can be identified with Puri the sea capital of the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ which was destroyed by Pulakēśin II during the course of his conquest of North Koṅkaṇ as graphically described by Ravikīrti in the Aihoḷe inscription.[14] With the crushing defeat of the Mauryas, their capital seems to have been abandoned by the merchants and inhabitants and this 'goddess of wealth of the Western Ocean' was turned into a city of ghosts. Bhōgaśakti, who was the feudatory of Pulakēśin's descendent revived the past glory of this city by recolonizing it and recorded it in his Añjanēri plates.

The identification of Samagiripaṭṭaṇa and Chandrapuri is thus dependent on the identification of Puri, the ancient capital of Koṅkaṇ. Three places have been shown by different scholars as the present equivalents of Puri. These are: 1) Marol on the island of Salsette near Jōgēśvari which is now a part of Greater Bombay.[15] 2) The island of Ghārāpuri or Elephanta[16] and 3) Rājāpuri near Murud Jāñjira in Raigad district of North Koṅkaṇ.[17]

In all probabilities Puri or Chandrapuri can satisfactorily be identified with Elephanat or Gharapuri near Bombay on the following grounds:

1) The antiquity of the island has been established upto the 2nd century A.D.[18]

2) The present name Gharapuri as well as its reference as 'Pori'[19] in the accounts

of the early Portuguese travellers show that 'Puri' was the suffix of this place name with different prefixes during different periods.

3) In the early Arab accounts there are frequent references to the port town of 'Sandabur'[20] on the west coast to the south of Broach. According to Indrisi it was a commercial city with beautiful houses and rich markets and where ships cast anchor. Sandabur is obviously the corrupt from of Chandrapura or Chandrapuri. According to local tradition the old name of Gharapuri was 'Santapur' which again shows its origin from the name Chandrapura.[21]

4) The port of Chandrapura mentioned in the Khārēpāṭan plates in association with Chēmulya as seen above also indicates its identification with Elephanta or Gharapuri.

5) The scholars who are against this identification have given stress on Gharapuri's inaccessibility and unsuitability for habitation. This is mainly because every body goes to Elephanta from the landing point near the Gateway of India. The distance is about 13 kms. On the contrary the distance between Elephanta and the Nhava-Sheva port on the main land near Uran in Raigadh is hardly 3 to 4 kms. Gharapuri also is in the Uran Taluka of Raigadh district. Nobody has taken into account the fact that during ancient times the island was reached from the side of Uran on the main land. The question of its suitability for habitation also does not carry any weight because large scale remains of ancient habitations have been scattered all over the island.

6) In the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakēśin II it is stated that hundreds of ships had to be employed to reach Puri which is a clear proof of the location of this Mauryan capital in deep sea waters. On the entire coast of North Konkan, Elephanta is the only island to which this situation can suite.

7) It is further interesting to note that Nhave-Sheva near Uran facing Elephanta has been selected by the Govt. of India for building a new harbour as a substitute to Bombay. This further shows that it was an ideal site for a deep water port.

Chandrapuri can thus be satisfactorily identified with Gharapuri. Samagiripaṭṭaṇa probably existed on the main land near Uran facing Gharapuri. The suffix 'Paṭṭaṇa' is generally associated with port towns. The possibility of the port town of Sheva as the present equivalent of Samagiri also cannot be ruled out. This is strenthened by the location of other inscriptional place names near Sheva wich were mentioned in the Añjanēri and Nirgundi plates either as hamlets of Samagiri and Chandrapuri or were situated in Samagiri-vishaya. The following are these place names and their present equivalents.

Nirguṇḍi Plates :	1)	Davilagrāma - Davale, Alibag - taluk, Raigadh district.
,, ,,	2)	Nirgundi-Nigade, Alibag taluk, Raigadh district.
,, ,,	3)	Samagiri vishaya-Sheva, Uran taluk, Raigadh, district.
Añjanēri Plates :	4)	Ambayapallikā - Ambivali Panvel taluk, Raigadh district.

Añjanēri Plates : 5) Savāneyapallikā-Savane, Panvel taluk, Raigadh district.

" " 6) Kansāripallikā -Kasarghat, Panvel taluk, Raigadh district.

" " 7) Moreyapallikā - Mora, Uran taluk, Raigadh district.

" " 8) Samagiripaṭṭaṇa-Sheva, Uran taluk, Raigadh district.

" " 9) Chandrapuri - Gharapuri, Uran taluk, Raigadh district.

8) It seems that the island city of Puri had different prefixes under different rulers. Under the Śilāhāras it was known as Śrīpuri.[22] The prefix 'Chandra' was probably attached to it under the Maurya king Chandravarman of the Goa plates.[23] On the basis of this observation Mangalāpuri, the headquarters of Chālukya Maṅgalarāja in Koṅkaṇ mentioned in his Manor plates[24] and Aniruddhapuri the capital city of the Traikūṭakas[25] can be identified with Gharapuri or Elephanta, because according to local tradition Gharapuri was the capital of king Bāṇāsura, whose daughter Ushā was married to Aniruddha, the grandson of lord Krishṇa.[26] The location of Aniruddhapuri some where in Surat district of Gujarat as suggested by some scholars is yet to be established.[27] In their official charters the Traikūṭakas call themselves as the rulers of Aparānta and other areas. It is further interesting to note that out of the five copper plate charters of this royal dynasty three are from Koṅkaṇ.[28] It is thus evident that Aniruddhapuri, Chandrapuri, Śrīpuri and Maṅgalāpuri are the different names of Puri given to it during different regimes. 'Koṅkaṇapura' mentioned in the account of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang is also probably the same place.[29]

The Añjanēri plates thus help us to settle the disputed identification of Puri, the ancient capital of North Koṅkaṇ. The frequent references to Chandrapura and Śrīpura in the early Śilāhāra inscriptions indicate that the Śilāhāras too probably had the same city as their capital till the reign of Aparājita. It was destroyed for second time by Kalyāṇa Chālukya king Satyāśraya Iriva Beḍanga at the end of the 10th century A.D. as a result of which they were forced to shift their capital to Thane and thence Puri lost its importance.[30]

Notes :

1. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXV, pp. 225–238.

2. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, part–I, pp. 146–154.

3. G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, vol. I, pp. 1–15.

4. V. V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.*, vol. VI, Intro. pp. i, ii.

5. *The Classical Age*, p. 65.
6. D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan* p. 35 ; Hirananda Shastri, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 6.
7. *The Classical Age*, op. cit.
8. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol: XVIII, pt. III, (Pune Dist.), pp. 132-138.
9. G. H. Khare, *Select Articles*, pp. 68–72.
10. *Quarterly of the Bharat Itihāsa* Samśōdhaka Maṇḍal, vol. IX, pt. II, pp. 1–6.
11. A. S. Gadre, *Important Inscriptions fr (m Barcda*, pp., 35-55 ; *C.I.I.*, Vol. VI, Ins. No. 5.
12. *C.I.I.*, vol. VI, Ins. No. 6.
13. *Int. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 33 ; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 292-302.
14. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, pp. 1-12.
15. Cousens, *Medieval Temples of the Deccan*, p. 81.
16. *Gazetteer of Bombay*, vol. XIV, (Thana), pp. 59-98.
17. V. K. Bhave, *Proc. of the Indian History Cong.* 1940, p. 86.
18. *Gazetteer of Bombay*, vol. XIV, op. cit.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *C.I.I.*, vol. VI, Ins. No. 21.
23. *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, pp. 181–184.
24. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 17–22.
25. Shobhana Gokhale, *Matvan plates of Madhyamasēna* and Vikramasēna, *Maharashtratil Puratatva*, pp.154-160.
26. *Gazetteer of Bombay*, vol. XIII, *op. cit.*
27. Shobhana Gokhale, *op. cit.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. Dr. B. R. Gopal, *The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa* and *the Kalachuris*, pp. 95-97.
30. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 632.

5. CRUSADE AGAINST GUHAI (MONASTERY)

N. Sethuraman

A record [1] in Tamil coming from Tirutturaipūṇḍi, Tanjore district is in the 2nd year of Rājarāja Chōḷa III (acc.1216 A.D) It refers to the event *guhai iḍi-kalaham* (demolition of the monastery) which happened in the 22nd year (1200 A.D.) of his predecessor Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III.

In the 1913 Epigrahical Report Krishna Sastri suggested that the crusade must have been instigated by the *brāhmaṇas* against the śūdra non-*brāhmaṇa* Śaivite *maṭhas*[2]. The suggestion was purely his imagination and guess which till date is believed as an historic truth. The record is not yet published and none has read the text. I took interest in this peculiar record and worte to the Director (Epigraphy) who was kind enough to send me the transcript and also the photograph of the inscription.

We shall now see the text and its actual object with reference to the then situation and competition among the followers of different kinds of Śaivite doctrines. Before proceeding further we must know the exact meaning of the word *guhai* in Tamil. Normally *guhai* means a cave in the hills or mountains. But the village Tirutturaipūṇḍi is situated in the south east end of the Kāvēri delta and the nearest hill is at a distance of two hundred kilometers. This proves that a *guhai* could be something else also.

A record which comes from the nearby village Tirunellikāval refers to the grants made to the Kulachiṟai-maḍam *(maṭha)* and Tirujñānasambandaṉ-guhai both situated in the main streets around the temple tank *(tirumaḍaiviḷāgam)*[3]. This information clearly proves that the *guhai* (monastery) and *maḍam (maṭha)* are different institutions.

Saint Tirumūlar of the 7th century A.D. composed three thousand and odd Tamil verses and they are called Tirumantiram. The verses describe in detail the different kinds of Śaivite āgamas. In the chapter Samādi-kiriyai, the saint says that when a Śivajñāni (devotee of Śiva) who had Śiva-dīkshā, dies, the body should not be cremated but buried in a pit called *guhai*. The residence of the devotee, Sālai (Śālā), the banks of sacred tanks, the centre of the river, the flower gardens, a good plot in the city and the top of the hills are the places where the *guhai* should be constructed. The measurements of the *guhai* pit which should be in a circular pyramid form are also given. Pañcha-lōhas namely gold, silver, copper, tin and iron, nine kinds of precious stones, lime powder and sacred ash are placed under the pit. The body is then lowered in the padmāsana-posture. Fragrants like, sandal, flowers, kastūri, *sandu, kalabha* and *punuku* should be applied over the body. The pit is closed with sacred ash, lime powder, darbha grass, vilva leaves and pure sand. The top of the *guhai* is called *atana* over which Śiva-liṅga should be consecrated and worshipped. The regular pūjas as conducted in a temple, should also be carried out in the *guhai*[4]. (Atana reminds us of the 4th

century Mathurā pillar inscription of Chandragupta II. It is said that the Pāśupata teacher Uditāchārya constructed two shrines in memory of his two teachers and installed the Śiva liṅgas in the (gurv-āyatana) teachers' shrine.[5]

The statement of saint Tirumūlar is to be carefully studied. The first preference is given to the residence of the devotee *(tanmaṛai)*. Obviously, the *maṭha* where the body of the pontiff is buried should have been called *guhai* and this institution is different from the usual *maṭhas*. Thus we could see the difference in the traditions of the *guhai* and the *maḍam (maṭha)*. Both were religious institutions. In the former, the body of the pontiff is buried (after death) and in the latter this practice is not followed.

Against this background let us see the Tirutturaipūṇḍi record. It is in the second year of Rājarāja Chōḷa III dated 1218 A.D.

It states that the devotees Śivajñāna Sambandar and Hirudayadēvar, who were the presiding pontiffs of the *guhai* were the witnesses *(sākshi-paḍi)* when this inscription was engraved. It is said that (in the former days) Tiruchiṟṟambala-mudaliyār, an *āṇḍār* (śaivite devotee) came to the village Tirutturaipūṇḍi. The chiefs Pūṇḍi-uḍaiyār and Maṅgalaṁkiḻārs (of the village) requested him to stay at Tirutturaipūṇḍi and promised that they would construct a *guhai* for him. They also served *bhiksha* (offering of food) to him. In the south street lands were acquired, a *guhai* was constructed and necessary materials *(sādanaṅgaḷ)* were given for the maintenance. Lands were also given to the institution for feeding *aḍiyārs* (devotees) who visited the *guhai* While this was so, in the 22nd year (1200 A.D.) of his predecessor *(periyadēvar)* Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III, there was a crusade against the *guhai* at Tirutturaipūṇḍi. During the troubled circumstances of *guhai-iḍi-kalaham* (demolition of the monastery), the *guhai* was damaged and materials *(sādanaṅgaḷ)* were destroyed. Later in the 24th year of Kulōttuṅga (1202 A.D.) the pontiff Tiruchiṟṟambala-mudaliyār also died *(Śiva-lōkam eḻundaruḷi)*. The *āṇḍārs* Śivajñāna Sambandar and Hirudayadēvar constructed to *guhai (maṭhas)* (obviously for them) and occupied them. Thirteen individuals figure as signatories. The record does not say that the *brāhmaṇas* demolished the *guhai*. It keeps silent on this vital issue. Incidentally one of the signatories is a *brāhmaṇa*. The question arises as to who could have instituted a crusade against the *guhai*. This much is certain that those who were against *guhai* tradition should have demolished it. Who were they ?

There are many records which state that the Chōḷa kings patronised priests who belonged to the Pāśupata, Kāḷāmukha, Kāpālika and Mahāvratin schools of Śaivism. Their names ended with the suffix Paṇḍita or Rāśi. Rājarāja Chōḷa the great, built the big temple at Tanjore in 1010 A. D. Īśānaśiva-paṇḍita, the chief Śivāchārya priest of the temple was the *rājaguru* of Rājarāja. He continued to be the *rājaguru* in the time of Rājēndra Chōḷa, the son of Rājarāja. Later he was succeeded by the Śaivāchārya Sarvaśiva-paṇḍita.[6]

Whenever a king or queen who had śiva-dīkshā dies, his or her body was buried and a Śivaliṅga was consecrated over it. A shrine or temple was built around. Such a temle was called paḷḷipaḍai

temple. The records state that these temples were maintained by the Mahāvratins of the Pāśupata school.

Āditya Chōḷa I ruled from 871 to 910 A.D. After death, his body was buried. His son Parāntaka built a *paḷḷipaḍai* temple over the mortal remains of his father and it was called paḷḷipaḍai Ādityēśvaram. A record from this temple states that the temple was maintained by the Mahāvratins.[7] Another record coming from Rāmanāthankōvil (near Kumbakōṇam) is dated in the seventh year 1019 A.D. of Rājēndra Chōḷa It states that the paḷḷipaḍai temple of Pañchavanmādēvi Īśvaram (where this inscription is engraved) was maintained by the *maṭha* belonging to the Mahāvratins whose pontiff was Lakulīśa-paṇḍita.[8] A record from Kaṇḍiyūr (near Tanjore) states that Rājēndra Chōḷa gifted lands as *āchāryabhōga* to Lakulīśa-paṇḍita.[9] The same pontiff Lakulīśa-paṇḍita figures in the Mēlpāḍi record of Rājēndra Chōḷa dated 1031 A.D. and it is said that the pontiff was looking after the affairs of the paḷḷipaḍai temple Ariñjigai-Īśvaram.[10]

A record of Vīra Paṇḍya dated 945 A.D. coming from Paḷḷimaḍam states the paḷḷipaḍai Sundara Pāṇḍya Īśvarm temple was maintained by the Mahāvratins. The *dēvaraḍiyārs* (dancing girls) were doing services in the temple.[11]

In the time of Rājēndra Chōḷa, the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple (near Madras) was looked after by one Chaturānana-paṇḍita, the pontiff of the Mayāna-maḍam *(mayāna-maḍam-uḍaiya)*.[12] The pontiffs of this *maṭha* were called Chaturānana-paṇḍitas (I, II, III and so on). A record of Rājādhirāja Chōḷa II (1166–82) states that the temple affairs were looked after by Chaturānana-paṇḍita and Vākīśvara-paṇḍita who was an exponent in Sōma Siddhānta – the Pāśupata doctrine.[13]

Within the temple complex of the Ēkāmbarēśvara temple at Kāñchīpuram, there is a small Śiva temple called Tirumayānam-Uḍaiyār (Smaśānēśvara in Sanskrit). An inscription of this shrine belonging to the 6th year (1076A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I states that the lands were granted as *āchārya bhōga* to the Śaivāchārya priest Tirumayāna Paṇḍita, obviously, a pāśupata priest who looked after the affairs of the temple called Tirumayānattu Brahmīśvara-mahādēvar.[14]

The Tirukaḍaiyūr and Tirukkaḍaiyūr Mayānam records of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III dated 1192 A.D. state that Kalāvinōda-paṇḍita was one of the Śaivāchārya priests of the temple.[15] The Kapālīśvara temple at Mylapore (Madras) is praised in the poems of Tirujñānasambandar (middle of 7th century A.D.). The very name of the temple proves that it belonged to the Pāśupatas.

The village Udiyalūr (near Kumbakonam) was a hamlet of the Chōḷa capital Paḷaiyārai. It was founded in memory of Rājarāja the great and was called Śivapādaśēkharamaṅgalam. A Śiva temple was built in the middle of the village and it was called Śivapādaśēkhara-Īśvaram.[16] Śivapādaśēkhara was the *dīkshā* name of Rājarāja. A record from Udiyalūr is dated in the 49th year (1119A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga I. It states that the mahēśvara – perum – tariśanattār (the Pāśupata) lived in the village and the village was classified as a Mahēśvara-sthānam.[17]

To sum up, *guhai* is a mayāna monastery and also a *samādhi maṭha*-cum temple. Probably the Pāśupata śaivities should have maintained them. In the reigns of the Chōḷas, the Pāśupatas of the *samādhi* temple had not only exerted powerful influence in the royal court but also had access to the regular temples. This should have provoked the Hindus who were against the *guhai* tradition (non-Pāśupatas) and they should have instigated a crusade against the *guhai* at Tirutturaipūṇḍi. The record speaks of the crusade that happened at Tirutturaipūṇḍi only and not in other places.

Guhai was a *samādhi* temple-cum-*maṭha* and it was maintained most propably by the Pāśupatas. The Hindus who were against the *guhai* and the Pāśupatas should have instigated a crusade agaist the *guhai* at Tirutturaipūṇḍi in the 22nd year (1200 A. D.) of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III.

TEXT[18]

FIRST PIECE

1 Svasti śrī || Tiribuvanach[chakkara]vattiga [|*]

16. *Gazetteer of Bombay*, vol. XIV, (Thana), pp. 59-98.

17. V. K. Bhave, *Proc. of the Indian History Cong.* 1940, p. 86.

18. *Gazetteer of Bombay*, vol. XIV, op. cit.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. *C.I.I.*, vol. VI, Ins. No. 21.

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24. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 17-22.

25. Shobhana Gokhale, *Matvan plates of Madhyamasēna* and Vikramasēna, *Maharashtratil Puratatva*, pp.154-160.

26. *Gazetteer of Bombay*, vol. XIII, *op. cit.*

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29. Dr. B. R. Gopal, *The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa* and *the Kalachuris*, pp. 95-97.

30. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 632.

17 taṅgaḷ agaṅgaḷillē ākki paḍaittu

18 amudu śeydu vārā nikka[ch*]chitē piṉbu eḻun[da*] -

19 ruḷi irrukka gugaiyum eḍukka vēṇḍugaiyi -

20 l vaḍakaraiyillē Pūṇḍi-uḍaiyārkku

21 kāṇiy-āṉa nilattillē āṟṟaṅgaraikku [va*]

22 ḍakkēy eḻubadu kuḻi nāyaṉārkku parivattichchu

23 ikkuḻik-kuḻi uḍaiyār sannadikku teṟk-ā -

24 ga paṇṇi śādaṉamum koṇḍu gugaiyum eḍu -

25 ttu ivar eḻu[nda]ruḷi irundu vāchchē ip -

The suggestion was purely his imagination and guess which till date is believed as an historic truth. The record is not yet published and none has read the text. I took interest in this peculiar record and worte to the Director (Epigraphy) who was kind enough to send me the transcript and also the photograph of the inscription.

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40 lamm=uḍaiya mudaliyār i[ru*] battu-nālāvaḍu varaiyum i[p*] -
41 paḍi aṉubhavittu vāchchidē iva[r*]kku iru[ba*]ttu nālāva -
42 du varaiyillē śivalōkattukku eḻundaruḷiṉār im -
43 [ma*]ḍattu mudaliyār Śivajñāṉasambandarum mudaliyār Hṛidaya -
44 dēvarum iraṇḍu gugaiyillum eḻundaruḷi irukkai
45 gaḷilē eḻundaruḷi irundamai ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Pūṇḍi-u-
46 ḍaiyāṉ Tiru[t*]tuṟaināyagaṉ ippaḍikku ivai eṉ eḻuttu i -
47 [p*]paḍi aṟivēṉ Neḍumaṇal-uḍaiyāṉ Ādi[t*]tadēvaṉ eḻuttu
48 i[p*]paḍi aṟi[vē*]ṉ Neḍumaṇall-uḍaiyā[ṉ*] Nambiyāru-ūrāṉ
49 eḻuttu i[p*]paḍi aṟivēṉ Mādēva-ba[ṭ*]ṭaṉ magaṉ Iruṇgari-baṭ[ṭa*] -
50 ṉ eḻuttu idu Pūṇḍi-uḍaiyāṉ Añjal eṉṟāṉ Tuṟai -
51 yaṉ Piḷḷaiyāḻvāṉ [sa ?]yijñādaṉamaikkum i[p*]paḍikkum
52 ivai Tiruttuṟaināyaga-vēḷā[ṉ*] eḻuttu

THIRD PIECE

53 ippaḍi aṟivēṉ ivai
54 Tirumāḷigai-piḷ[ḷai*] eḻuttu
55 ippaḍikku ivai Irapichcha -
56 ṉ eḻuttu idu Tillaiṉā -
57 [ya]ga Pichchaṉ śayisādaṉamai -
58 kkum (ippaḍikkum) i[p*]paḍikku
59 ivai vēḍambaram - uḍai -
60 yāṉ eḻuttu ippaḍi aṟi -
61 vēṉ Gaṅ[gai*]koṇḍa - Pich -
62 chaṉ eḻuttu Būmi-uḍaiyāṉ
63 Añjaleṉṟāṉ Tiruv-ālavā[19] -

64 lavāy-uḍaiyāṉ -

65 śai[20]jñādaṉamaikku ivai Ku -

66 dappalamm = uḍaiyā[ṉ*] eḻuttu

67 ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Neḍuma -

68 ṉal - uḍaiyāṉ Tiruttu -

69 ṟai - ṉāyagaṉ uḍaiyapiḷ -

70 ḷai - āṇḍāṉ eḻuttu ip -

71 paḍi aṟivēṉ Maṅgalaṅ-kiḷ

72 ḷa[21]iyāṉ eḻuttu ippaḍikku i -

73 vai Neḍumaṉal-uḍaiyā -

74 ṉ Ādichchadēvaṉ eḻuttu

75 Ne[ḍu*]maṉal-u[ḍai*]yāṉ Tiru[t*]tu[ṟai*] -

76 Pichchaṉ Puliyūran. [śaich] -

77 chādaṉamaikku Kaḍava -

78 kkuḍaiyā[y?][22] eḻuttu

79 ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Tiru -

80 vīdippiḷḷaiyā[r*] eḻuttu

81 ippaḍi aṟivēṉ Na -

82 mbiyār-yūrāṉ Tiruvī -

83 dipiḷḷai magaṉ Dē[vā?] -

84 [ṉ*]dāṉ śaisādaṉamai -

85 kku ivai Sēndamaṅ -

86 galam-uḍaiyāṉ eḻuttu || -

TRANSLATION

Be it well In the second year of the (reign of) Tribhuvanachakravarttigaḷ Śrī Rājarājadēvar–(this record was caused to be engraved) in witness there of when Śivajñāna Sambandar and Hṛidayadēvar the *āṇḍars* living in the temple of Tirutturaipūṇḍi situated in the Rajēndraśōḷa – vaḷanāḍu, were pleased to be present–Āṇḍār Tiruchiṟṟambala-mudaliyār was pleased to come to this village Tirutturaipūṇḍi – On seeing him the chief Pūṇḍi Uḍaiyārs and Maṅgalamkiḻārs requested that *embeurmāṉ* (our lord) Tiruchiṟṟambala–mudaliyār should be pleased to stay (always) at Tirutturaipūṇḍi and said that for the latter's stay a *guhai* would be constructed–*biksha* (offering of food) was given (daily in their houses); while it was, so for the purpose of constructing the *guhai* seventy *kuḻis* of temple lands were acquired in the *sannadi* south street in exchange for the lands lying north of the river, belonging to the chief Pūṇḍi-uḍaiyār. A *guhai* was constructed and *sādanaṅgaḷ* (materials) were given – Tiruchiṟṟambala–mudaliyār was pleased to say to the chiefs that "when I am fed in the houses there is no provision (offering of food) in the *maṭha* to feed the *dēśantaris* who visit and stay in the *maṭha*" – Accordingly Pūṇḍi-uḍaiyār gave one and half *mā* of his (*kāṇi*) wet lands lying on the southern bank and half *mā* of his (*kāṇi*) dry lands both west of Pāṇḍimayakkal – in all two *mā* of lands were given. The lands were made tax free and utilised for feeding *dēśantaris*. In the twenty second year of Periyadēvar (Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa) during the *guhai-iḍi-kalaham* (demolition of the monastery) the *sādanaṅgaḷ* were damaged. Later upto the twenty fourth year (of Kulōttuṅga) Tiruchiṟṟambala – mudaliyār lived and then he was pleased to be present at śivalōkam (natural death). Sivajñāna mudaliyār and Hṛidayadēvar, the pontiffs of the *maṭha* were pleased to occupy the two *guhai maṭhas* (evidently meant for them).

There are thirteen signatories whose names are also given. One of them is a *brāhmaṇa* whose name is Irunkāri–bhaṭṭan, the son of Mādēva–bhaṭṭan.

Notes :

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No. 471.
2. *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 112.
3. *S.I.I.*, vol. XVII, No. 563.
4. *Tirumūlar Tirumantiram* published by Tirunelveli Saiva Siddanta Kalhakam-verses 1873 to 1885.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI pp. 1 ff.
6. *S.I.I.*, vol. II, pp. 92, 109, 413, 414, 459, 491 and 107.
7. *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, No. 529.
8. *A.R.Ep.*, 1926–27, pp. 76 to 78.

9. *S.I.I.*, vol. V, No. 578, line 59.

10. *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 27.

11. *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, Nos. 88 and 83.

12. *Ibid.*, vol. V, No. 1384 lines 29, 30.

13. *Ibid.*, vol. No. 1358.

14. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, No. 813.

15. *Ibid.*, vol. XXII, Nos. 40 and 64.

16. *A.R.Ep.*, 1926–27, No. 306.

17. N. Sethuraman *Studies in Indian Place Names*, vol. VIII, pp. 30-32.

18. From inked impression.

19. The *ā* length sign is written in the beginning of line 64.

20. The *ai* sign of *śai* is written at the end of line 64.

21. The *ai* sign of *kiḻai* is written at the end of line 71.

22. Read as[o-*kuḍaiyāṉ*].

6. AREA MEASURES IN GUJARAT AS GLEANED FROM EPIGRAPHICAL RECORDS

Saradha S. Srinivasan

The evolution of area measures in Ancient India can be traced from Baudhāyana dharmasūtra, which belongs to 1000 B.C.[1] Though in land grants, sometimes entire villages were given by charter on many occasions, a large number of land gifts appear to be related to smaller plots of land also, necessitating the measurements to be indicated in the records. But the information from literature and inscriptions are not comprehensive and there is considerable uncertainty about the exact area indicated. Further no common standard unit appears to have existed. The present attempt tries to bring together, most of the relevant information, relating to the area measures which are available from epigraphical evidences used in Gujarat till 13th century A.D.

An examination of the various area measures used in Gujarat, brings out the fact, that four different approaches were made in demarcating land areas :

i) The common approach is by *hala* or plough measure and *nivartana.*

ii) By measuring with a *pādāvarta* or foot measure.

iii) The third approach was related to the quantity of seed sown as in *vrīhipīṭaka.*

iv) The fourth appoach was according to the yield of land such as *khaṇḍa.*

The information on these various measures are presented in the order of their popular use and the details are given in a chronological order, to understand the concepts. Some of the measures mentioned in the copper plates of Gujarat may be terminologically the same with the measures in other areas, but may have conveyed different quantum. Hence equating the measures with those of the other places may not be feasible. Moreover, when land was plenty, that much rigid standards as of today might not have been necessary.

Hala was a common land measure which was in usage mainly in the inscriptions of Sōlaṅki kings. In the Pālanpur plates of Bhima II [2] (V.S. 1120) Sunak grant of Karṇa I[3] (V.S. 1148), Dōha inscripition of Jayasimha[4] (V.S. 1196), Bāli incription of the reign of Kumārapāla[5] (V.S. 1208) and in the Surat plates of Tribhuvanapāla[6] (V.S. 1242), this term occurs. As for examble, in the Dōhad inscription[7] of Jayasimha, three *halas* of land was donated towards the religious services of a temple of the god Gōga Nārāyaṇa instituted previously by a governor for the well being of his mother. In the Bomby Asiatic Society copper plate of Bhīmadēva II[7] (V.S 1266), the term *halavāha* occurs, which means that much of land, which could be ploughed with one plough. The commentary Gaṇitasāra (1393 A.D.) of Śrīdhara, mentions *halavāha* as equal to 3360 *hastas.* It is not clear whether it is a square *hasta.*

In othes areas of India, *bhikshu hala, bhōga hala, brahmahala, bṛihad hala*

and *yugandhari hala* occur, which may refer to the grants to *saṅghas*, *brāhmaṇas*, or bigger unit or the yield of jowar [8] in the land and hence these related prefixes.

Hala literally means a plough. A plough was known as *hali*, *jitya*, *lāngala* and *śira* according to Pāṇini.[9] *Dvihalya* and *trihalya* mentioned by Pāṇini, appear to represent areas cultivated by two or three ploughs respectively. Patañjali and Bāṇa were also familiar with the term *hala*. Manu refers to various kinds of ploughs. His commentator Kullūkabhaṭṭa explains, that the area measure using a plough drawn by eight bullocks was known as *dharma hala*, that drawn by six for the cultivators *madhyama hala*, that drawn by four for house holders *gṛihasta hala* and the one drawn by three bullocks used for the brāhmaṇas *brahma hala*[10] Atrisambita, however refers to four kinds of *hala* drawn by eight, six, four and two bullocks.[11]

There is difficulty in ascertaining the exact area that could be cultivated with a plough. If the soil presents a congenial condition and if the oxen are healthy the area is bound to be more. The size of the plough is also an important factor in determining the extent of the land that can be ploughed in a given time. As the grades of the soil were of different categories and the size and the capacity of the plough of the oxen also different, the extent of the plough measure could not have been uniform throughout. When the *hala* occurs as a measurement, it must refer to that much of land which can be cultivated by a plough in a given time at a given place. Only the time factor could have been uniform.[12]

In this connection it will not be out of place to refer to the furnow length, which was termed as furlong in Britain, which indicates that the plough measure was in use in other countries also.

There is only one inscription from Gūjarat which throws some light on the area of *hala*. In the Sunak grant[12] in the time of Karṇa, it is stated that 4 *halas* of land required 12 *pailam* of seed corn. According to the editor one *pailam* is equivalent to 4 seers. So one *hala* needed 12 seers of corn. 10 to 12 seers are required for sowing at present for a *bigha*. Hence it may be equal to *bigha*.

Nivartana is a measure mainly used in the land grants of Gūrjaras in southern part of Gujarat. This is the most discussed unit with the least unanimity among the scholars. In Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra, it is explained from the term with or livelihood and prescribes, that with six *nivartanas* of land one can support a family. It has been described by several scholars, ranging from one to five acres. D.C. Sircar has utilised a source from Arthaśāstra, to arrive at 240 × 240 sq. cubits, that is about five acres. P.V. Kane, holds that *nivartana* was so called because, it represented a day's ploughing by a team of eight or six oxen (from the root '*vṛit*' with '*ni*', marking the cessation of work after a day's cultivation). L. D. Barnett calculating from Līlāvatī, holds that ten *hastas* = 1 *vaṁśa*, 20 sq. *vaṁśas* = 1 *nivartana*. Hence a *nivartana* covered 200 × 200 sq. cubits.[13]

One scholar opines, that since the term *nivartana*, literally means turning back, it probably indicates, measuring of lands by an individual, starting from a particular

point, going round the field and returning to the starting point within a specified time, perhaps from sun-rise to sunset thereby marking the exact boundary of the field covered, during the course of the round. A similar custom prevailed in Russia. The Baskeers were said to have the habit of selling land by the day, that is as much of a land as a man can go round on his feet, from sun rise to sun set. Naturally the area is bound to differ ; since the rate of walking or running differs from one individual to another. Perhaps the distance covered by a certain individual in a day, might have been used as the standard.

The earliest reference to *nivartana* is from the Nāsik cave inscriptions of Gōtamīputra Śātakarṇi (regnal years, 18, 24)[13] in which there is a mention of two hundred and three hundred *nivartanas* of land given to the mendicant ascetics. No doubt it is a very big number, and the round figure might have meant a huge area of land.

In other places *nivartana* appears to have been measured by different *daṇḍas* or rods. The length of the *daṇḍa* may vary. In the Navsāri plates of Jayabhaṭa III (706, A.D.) 64 *nivartanas* of land was granted to the brāhmaṇa Dēvasvāmin, for the performance of five great sacrifices. In the Nandipur plates of the same king[15] (found from Añjanēri), (710 A.D.) and Kāvi plates of Jayabhaṭa IV[16] (736 A.D.) grants of 60 *nivartanas* and 50 *nivartanas* were made. This term *nivartana* occurs only in the region between the river Mahi and Kim in Gujarat and in the grants of Kalachuri and Gūrjara kings.

In the Abhona (near Nasik) plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa[17] (597 A. D.) *nivartana* was measured by 40 *daṇḍas* each way *(ubhaya chatvāriṁśaka nivartanam)*, hence it may be 1600 sq. *daṇḍas*. But during the time of the same king, when his governor Nirihullaka made a grant in Saṅkhēḍa[18] (last quarter of 6th century A.D.) it was a field requiring one *vrīhipīṭaka*, that is a field requiring one basketfull of paddy as seed. Both the plates belonged to the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. Hence, during the regime of the same king, two different measures were used in two different places. May be the local standards continued.

Pādāvarta was a standard unit in Gujarat during the time of Maitrakas. Etymologically, the term suggests the measure by foot. It is one foot each way or one foot square. According to Monier Williams, it is a square foot, since 'āvarta' means turning, winding or revolving. Fleet, suggested that a plot of one hundred *pādāvartas*, may measure one hundred feet each way, thereby measuring ten thousand square feet.

Perhaps this may be the foot measurement of a ruler or a standard foot measue. When the land survey was conducted in the time of Kulōttuṅga Chiḷa I,[19] his foot measurement *(śrīpāda)* was taken as a unit. This might have been the case in Gujarat also. By way of another interpretation, if may be suggested that as in the case of a Roman mile, a step rather than a foot might have been taken into account. *Pādāvarta* has another meaning also. The term *pāda* stands for one-fourth of a circle or square or anything. Hence it may be taken as one fourth of a bigger unit.

In the Pālitāna plates of Dharasēna[20] (252 G.E.), the land measuring, 180, 120, 32, 130 and 100 *pādāvartas* were given to brāhmaṇas ; 32 *pādāvartas* are specifically stated for making *vāpi*.

In the Lunsadi grant of Śilāditya II[21] 235 *pādāvartas* of cultivated land were given as gift to a dīkshita. The land was in five pieces, 55, 70, 90 and 20 *pādāvartas*. 20 *Pādāvartas was* too small an area to be given as a gift and to be mentioned in a copper plate of a king. Perhaps this may be a small building site or even a well, since it was agricultural land. Whether the *pādāvarta* is the same unit in all the places or differed in different places is a moot point.

Vrīhipīṭaka as a land measurement occurs in the Kalachuri, Hūṇa, Maitraka and Gūrjara grants. A copper plate from Sañjēli situated in Zalod taluka in Panchmahal district, issued during the time of Hūṇa king Tōramāṇa, refers to a gift of land measuring an area requiring five baskets by *Mahārāja* Bhūta in 502 A.D.[22]

In an undated grant of Santilla[23] (6th century A.D.), a field requiring one *pīṭaka* of paddy as seed corn was given to *Bhaṭṭika* Anantasvāmin for the increase of religious merit and fame of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, that is the Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa. The same unit occurs in an another grant from Sankhēḍa by the Gūrjara king Dadda II[23] (642 A.D.) to brāhmaṇa Sūrya. Two plates measuring two *vrīhipīṭakas* each were given as gift by Maitraka king Dharasēna IV[24] (632 V.S.). Here it is specified that the *vrīhipīṭaka* was measured by *khēṭakamāna*. In other grants, since *khēṭakamāna* was not mentioned, this particular unit must have been in use only in Kaira area at that time. In another plate of Dadda II[25] (642 A.D.) a field requiring 10 *prasthas* of paddy (*daśaprasthavāpam*) by the larger measure (*bṛihanmāna*) was donated to the brāhmaṇa Sūrya. This shows that there was a smaller *prastha* also. Moreover in Sankhēḍa, it seems there were two measures for land, namely *prasthavāpa* and *vrīhipīṭaka. Prastha* and *vrīhi*, are one and the same measure is a conjecture, so also *khēṭakamāna* and *bṛihanmāna*.

In a grant of Bhīmadēva I[26] from Pāliad, in eastern Saurashtra (on the main road from Wadhwan to Bhavnagar), a Jain monastery has been allotted a piece of land measuring 2 *halas* along with another land measuring 2 *kalasikavāpas (kalasika dvaya vāpa)*, that is the land that can be sown with two *kalasi* of seed grains. *Kalasi* according to the Gujarati commentary on Pāṭi-gaṇita is of 16 *ser*. It is also 16 *maunds* in some parts of Gujarat. The weight *kalasi* varies in different places according to Mirat-e-Ahmadi. Still it seems to be a bigger unit of measure and hence the donated land must be a very big one.

Sowing capacity as a measurement of an unit for area was in usage in other parts of ancient India also. For example *kulyavāpa*, *drōṇavāpa* and *aḍhavāpa* were used in Bengal. In other ancient civilizations also, this type of measuring by quantity of seed sown was in use. The Palestinian jugon (which is equal to 13 Roman jugera) is also called *Korean*, because the land required a *kor* of seed for sowing. Jugon is approximately 8.1 acres (about 3.2 hectares).

Pāśa as a land measure occurs in a land grant during the time of Bhīma II[27] (1266 V.S.). Four pieces of land were allotted by Mahīpāla, namely 50, 100, 100, and 100 *pāśas*. The last two have been mentioned as producing one *khaṇḍa* of paddy. In this inscription there is an error. In line 46, the total yield is mentioned as 4 *khaṇḍas*, whereas, it should be 3½ *khaṇḍas*. Land must be more fertile to yield better produce. *Pāśa* may be equivalent to the *rajju* mentioned by Kauṭilya. *Rajju* of Kauṭilya was of 10 *daṇḍas*. *Rajju* literally means a rope. Rajjuka and Rajjukāha amachcha were the land surveyers, according to the *jātakas*, showing thereby that land was measured by rope. Measuring by hempen rope was mentioned by Abul Fazl. Measuring by rope is convenient, when the sides of a particular land is not in straight lines. The British Chain, better known as Gunder's chain is 66' or 1/10 of a furlong (26.11 metres). 10 square chains was an acre during British rule.

There were also some peculiar measures, which do not come among the above categories. In a record during the time of Tōramāṇa[28] (499 A.D.) from Sivabhāgapura (Panchmahal district), the term '*dāsiguṇtham*' (a *guṇtha* measure of land, for which 1/10th of the produce is to be given as annual revenue) occurs. Today *guṇtha* is equivalent to 1/25th of a *bigha* or 33 × 33 square feet or roughly 10 × 10 square meters, but what it exactly amounted to in the 5th century is not clear.

Another land measure '*pātha*' was prevalent in Kathiawad. In the Timāna grant[29] dated 1207-8 A.D. of Mēhara king Jagamalla, most probably a feudatory of Chalukya Bhīma II, donated 55 *pāthas* of land in each of the two villages, Kambalauli and Phulasāra for the deities namely Chauṇḍarēśvara and Pṛithvīdēvēśvara. According to Wilson and D. C. Sircar, it is equal to 240 square feet Here it is not out of place to mention *pāṭaka* as a land measure used in Eastern India which is a very big unit, as big as a village.

A copper plate of Dhruvasēna II[30] (639 A.D.) from Nogwa (near Ratlam) mentions 100 *bhakti* in a land grant, the extent of which cannot be ascertained without proper evidence.

In a grant of Vīsaladēva[31] (1317 V.S.) from Mandali (3 km., south of Delmal in Viramgham taluka) along with *hala*, a *pallāḍika* with a daily tax of one *dam* *(dramma)* is mentioned[31]. The term *pallāḍika* cannot be identified with the existing measures.

From the above land measures mentioned in epigraphical records, it can be inferred that area measures used in different places in Gujarat varied considerably. In other civilizations also such variations are noted. The word acre, which was originally applied to an enclosed land without any specific measurement, later on came to mean an area ploughed in a day by a yoke of oxen. On poor light soils the area would exceed than that of rich heavy soils. The expected yield may be more or less the same.

At present an acre measures 4840 sq. yard, while a *bigha* or *vigha* in Gujarat measures approximately 3025 sq. yards or 0.51 to 0.6 acres. Since in India, bullocks

are used in ploughing and not horses, which are more strong, the term birga used in India is smaller than an acre which originated from England. The word *vigha* or *bigha,* is derived from *vibhāga* or *bhāga* measuring a portion of a land. By the same way *hala* or *nivartana* can be 0.6 parts of acre.

Area measured in *pādāvartas* appear to be similar to square feet and square meters. It could have been a standard measure or the measure declared by a particular ruler in his kindom. It is not out of place to mention here that even the British yard of 36' has its origin during Tudor times. By tradition (often stated as fact) Hence VII, in the 16th century A.D., is supposed to have decreed, that the yard should thenceforth, be the distance from the tip of his nose, to the end of his thumb with the hand stretched fully. It is half of a *vyāyāma,* according to the ancient Indian system.

The other systems of measuring the land by the sowing and the yielding capacity was observed in other parts of India and also in other civilizations. In south east Asia, the quality of the land is stated, in terms of the number of baskets of paddy they expect to harvest, compared with the number sown. Thus 3 baskets field of 50 pieces of land will yield on an average 150 baskets yield per year. The former is interested in knowing about the seed required for sowing and the yield, rather than geometry. This was simple and understandable to him, though it gave no indication of the area of land. This principle seems to have been applied to the Indian area measures *vrīhipīṭaka* and *khaṇḍa.*

At present in Gujarat 5 maunds of seed corn are necessary for sowing a *vigha* by direct method. A *prastha* is 625 gms approximately. Hence a *prasthavāpa* may be 1/8th of a *vigha. Kalasi* is 16 mounds, hence *kalasthavāpa* may be slightly more than 3 *bighas.* Yield frome one *vigha* is said to be 20 maunds. *Khaṇḍi* is also 20 mounds and therefore *khaṇḍa* also is most probably equal to a *bigha;* since the inscription referes to yielding capacity. However, to correlate these ancient measures with the present day measures can at best be an approximation. Anyhow, this kind of comparison throws light on the methodologies adopted in measuring areas in ancient Gujarat.

Notes :

1. *Baudhāyana dharmasūtra,* III, 2 2.4.
2. *Ep. Ind.,* vol. XXI, p. 171.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 316.
4. *Int. Ant.* vol. X, p. 159.
5. *ASWG,* 1907-8, p. 54.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XII, p. 196.

7. *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, p. 108.

8. Niyogi Pushpa, *Contributions to the econcmic history of Northern India*, p. 84. Srinivasan Saradha, "*Mensuration in Ancient India*", p. 46.

9. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, III, 2, 10 ; IV, 4, 97 ; VI, 3, 83.

10. *Manusmṛiti*, VII (119).

11. *Atrisamhita*, 220, 221.

12. *op. cit.* Saradha Srinivasan, p. 36, 37.

13. Rajabali Pandey, p. 51.

14. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, part II, no. 21.

15. *Ibid.*, no. 22.

16. *Ibid.*, no. 23.

17. *Ibid.*, no. 12.

18. *Ibid.*, no. 13.

19. *M.E.R.*, 1912, no. 440.

20. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 80.

21. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 74.

22. Mehta R.N., "*M. S. University copper plates of Toramāṇa*", M. S. University Archaeological series, No. 17, p. 16.

23. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, II, no. 19.

24. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 333.

25. *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, pt. II, no. 20.

26. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 235.

27. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, p. 110.

28. *op. cit.*, Mehta, p. 14.

29. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, p. 337.

30. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 192.

31. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 210.

7. KUMBALUR PLATES OF GOVINDA

K V. Ramesh and M. D. Sampath

The plates which are being edited here for the first time were found in the village Kumbaḷūr in Harihar Taluk, Chitradurga District, Karnataka.[1] The set is in the possession of Sri Ramakrishnaiah of that village.

The record is in a good state of preservation. The set consists of three plates and a ring with seal. This charter is in Kannaḍa characters of about the first half of 10th century. The diction of the text as well as the palaeographical features of the record are regular for the period to which the charter belongs. In the first plate the letters are characterised by nail-headed serifs. This feature is not seen in the other two plates.

As for the orthographical features, there is no distinction between short and long *e* as in the expressions *eraḍu* (line 31) and *ēriya* (line 36). Cursive letters like *v*, *m* and *ḷ* have been frequently used in this record. Consonants are doubled after *rēpha* as in the expressions like *-kandarppa* (line 5). The characters are mostly of the later type but at the sametime some of them show the earlier features e.g., the letters *j*, *p*, *b*, *d* and *y*. The text abounds in orthographical errors.

The charter refers itself to the rule of Gōvindarāja of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. He is credited with the title *Suvarṇavarsha.* (line 2). The record was issued in the Śaka year 851 which, along with other details of date *viz.*, Virōdhi, Āshāḍha ba 10 Sunday (lines 1-2) corresponds to 929 A.D., July 5. The *tithi daśami* ended on the previous day. It further refers to Baddegarasar as the governor of Kadaṁbaḷige - 1000 and Kisukāḍ - 70, altogether a 1070-division. He had the titles *komaraṁkarāma*, *subhagakandarppa*, etc., and served as a *mahāsāmanta* under the king (lines 5-7).

The object of the record is to register the grant by Suggiyabbarasi of the village Niṭṭūr in Kundūr - 70 division, as an *agrahāra* to an individual Badareṟemmayya of Kāśyapa-gōtra, on an auspicious day at Rāmēśvara on the banks of Tuṅgabhadrā. To this grant figure as witnesses, the *mahājanas* of the five *agrahāra* villages Jaṭiyur, Kubhavur, Beḷvanur, Andanur and Kodaganur, Pariyaṭan of Kundura, Puṇuseṇṇan, *perggeḍe* Bhōgati, Polega of Bānti yoḻaṁgi of Kundavaḍa, Mayinda, the *nāḻgāvuṇḍa* of Kadambaḷige 1000 and Diḻipayya, the store-keeper of Ballavarasa. The protectors of the grant are the *nāḻgāvuṇḍa* of Kundur - 70, Kiḷḷan and Eṟeyampan.

The charter specifies the boundaries of the granted *agrahāra*. It states that a grant of garden lands measuring 30 *kuḷas* and three *kaṇḍugas* of wet land were given to Chāvayya, son of Rāchayōja, for writing the record. Lines 40-41 contain an imprecatory passage.

The charter is one of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Gōvindarāja *i.e.*, Gōvinda IV. He is described in lines 2-3 as *Suvarṇavarsha-dēva - pṛithvīvallabha*, *mahārājādhirāja*, *paramēśvara* etc. Unlike the Cambay[2] and Andura plates[3], the present plates do not mention the name of his father Nityavarshadēva *i.e.*, Indra III.

As we know from relevant copper-plate records, Gōvinda IV succeeded his elder brother, Amōghavarsha II, to the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne. Fleet refuted the view of the accession of Amōghavarsha, on the ground that Gōvinda IV is described as meditating on the feet of Nityavarsha (*i.e.*, Indra III) in his Sangli plates.[4] But the Karhāḍ grant of Kṛishṇa III confirms the reign of Amōghavarsha. Even the later Rāshṭrakūṭa plates record that he did ascend the throne and rule for a short period of about one year. His short reign period is further confirmed by verse 19 of the Karhāḍ plates :[5]

kshipraṁ divaṁ pitur-iva praṇayād-gatasya tasy-ānujō manuja-lōka-lalāma-bhūtaḥ ।

rājyaṁ dadhē madana saukhya-pi(vi)lāsa-kandō

Gōvindarāja iti viśruta-nāmadhēyaḥ ॥ - (11 28-29).

After the death of Amōghavarsha II, Gōvinda IV ascended the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne. The death of Amōghavarsha has been placed by Altekar around the end of 929 A.D. or at the beginning of 930 A.D.

The date of the present charter is rather significant. The cyclic year given is Virōdhi. This year corresponding to Śaka 851 agrees with the southern system. Two other inscriptions of Gōvinda IV *viz.*, the Kalas inscription of Śaka 851, Vikṛita and the Cambay plates of Śaka 852, Khara have followed the northern luni-solar system. But these cyclic years would be Virōdhi and Vikṛita respectively according to the southern system. Thus the corresponding dates would be 930 A.D., January 17 and 930 A.D., May 10. On the basis of this system the date of the Ganore[6] plates would agree with that of Kalas record[7]. V. V. Mirashi, the editor of the Andura plates has suggested that Uttarāyaṇa and Uttarā-Phālgunī-nakshatra in the cyclic year Vikṛita in the Śaka year 851 occurred on the 23rd December 929 A.D. (as per the southern system). It is well known that in the records issued in South India proper, it is the southern system that is generally used. Therefore, the present grant seems to have been made on the 5th July, 929 A.D., when the *tithi* ended on the previous day.

Of the dates quoted above, the date given in the present grant is the earliest as yet known for Gōvinda IV. He is known to have performed his *paṭṭabandha-mahōtsava* at Kapitthaka on the Gōdāvarī in Śaka 851, Vikṛita according to the southern system. (10th May, 930 A.D.). The word *paṭṭabandha-mahōtsava* is to be understood in the sense of festivities connected with his coronation. His accession should have taken place prior to 929 A.D., July 5 in the light of the record under study. The donatrix of the grant is Suggiyabbarasi. She is known for the first time from the present record. The other queen of Gōvinda IV, Bhāgiyavvā, is referred to in his Andura plates of Śaka 851. She hailed from the Chalukya stock. But the place from where her family was ruling is not known.

The subordinate chief Baddegarasa, referred to for the first time in this record, cannot be his adversary Amōghavarsha III who was also called Baddega and against whom he defended his kingdom. In all probability Baddegarasa mentioned in the present charter as the administrator of Kadambaḷige and Kisukāḍ was a powerful

chief, about whom we hear for the first time.

Of the villages mentioned in the charter Kubhavur or Kuṁbhavur, Andanur and and Beḷvanur are probably identical respectively with Kuṁbaḷūr, Andapura and Belasanūr, all of which are in Harihar Taluk of Chitradurga District. The other two villages Jaṭiyūr and Kodaganūr cannot be identified. The donated village Niṭṭūr is probably identical with its namesake in Harihar taluk.

TEXT[8]

1 Svasti[ı*]Sa(Śa)ka-varishav-eṇṭunūṟ-ayvatton-daneya Virōdhi-saṁvatsaraṁ prava[r*] ttise

2 tad-varishābhyantarada [Ā]shāḍada bahuḷa daśavi(mi)yuv = Āditya-va(vā)rā(ra)va(v-ā)ge Suvarṇṇa-varshadē-

3 va-śrī-pṛii(pṛi)tvī(thvī)vallabha-mahārāja(jā)dhirāja-paramēśvara-Gōindra(nda)rājadēvara vijayarājyav=uttarō-

4 [ttaraṁ] saluttu[m-i*]re tat-pāda-padma-dvaya(y-ā)rādhi(dha)n-ōpajīvya-samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda-mahā-

5 sāmanta-vikramagaḷḷa-komaraṁkarāmaṁ sōladagaṇḍaṁ subhaga-Kandarppa-śrī

6 mat Baddegarasar-Kkadaṁbaḷige-sāyiramuṁ Kisukāḍ-eḷpattu antu sa(sā)yirad=e-

7 ḷpattu bāḍamuvaṁ sukhaṁ(kha) saṁkā(ka)tha(thā)-vinōdaṁgaḷin-dushṭa-nigraha-visi(śi) shṭa-pratipāḷana-sthiti-

8 yin-achaḷa-pratyadiyin=aḷuttire[9] anavarata-paramakallyāṇa-sahaśra(sra)-[phala*]bhōga-bhō-(bhā)gini dviti-

9 ya-Lakshmī-samāneyar-appa śrīmam(mat) Suggiyabbarasiyan(yar)Kandagaleya baḍagaṇa

10 Tuṁgabhadreyar = amara-pratishṭe(ṭhe)ya Rāmēśvaradoḷ puṇya-divaśa(sa)d=andu Kundūr-eḷpatta-

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

11 ṟa(ra) baḷiya Niṭṭuraṁ Ka(kā)sya(śya)-pa-gōtra-siriyuṁ Badareṟemmayyaṁge agrahāraṁ biṭṭa[r*ı] idu ā-

12 chandr-ārkka tāraṁbaraṁ salguṁ[ı*]idakke kāla-kālāntaradoḷ=oḍaṁbaḍal-ollade negaḷdu[10] salisa-

13 d = ātaṁge[11] pārvvaruṁ pasuvuvan-aḷida pāpav = ēḷaneya naraka-gāmiyakku[ı*]ī śāsanakke agra-

14 hāraṁ Jaṭiyura-mahājanamuṁ Kubhavurada-mahājanamuṁ Beḷvaṇura-mahājanamu [ṁ*] Andanu-

15 ra-mahājanamu[ṁ*] Kodaganura-mahā[ja*]namu[ṁ*] inti ayd=agrahāramu Kundura pariyaṭanuṁ Puṇuse-

16 ṇṇan pe[r*]ggeḍe Bhōgatiyuṁ Bāntiya Pole-ganuṁ Kundavaḍada Goḷaṁgiyu Kukavāḍi-

17 munūṟaṟa(ra)nāḷgāvuṇḍaṁ Mayindanuṁ Kadaṁbaḷige[12]-sāyirada nāḷgāvuṇḍaṁ sarvvavo-

18 leganuṁ Ballavarasar-ugrāṇi Diḷipayyanuṁ int-inibaruṁ sākshiyāge i(ī)śāsanaṁ ba-

19 redudu[r*] idakke kāpu Kundūr-eḷpattaṟa-nāḷgāvuṇḍaṁ Kiḷḷanuv-Eṟeyammanu[r*] agraha (hā)

20 rada-sīme pu(pū)rvva-digbhāgadoḷ Sindavurada paśchima-bhāgada sīma(me) sandiya per-vuṇusey-ā-

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE

21 diyāge dakshiṇ-ābhimukhadoḷ pōge Uḍiya-koḷaṁ guṭṭe adaṟindav-ante pōge Kaḷkaya guṭṭea

22 llind-atta tuggil-vuṇuse guṭṭe adaṟindaṁ dakshiṇadoḷ bonkeṟey-oḷaganoḷ-ivannigaḷindam-ante pō-

23 ge kalimēluvin paḷḷilda [pe]rvvuṇuseya paḍuvaṇ-oḷbiyindaṁ Karvvaḷḷiya daṭṭe piriya bēvin guṭṭeyinda-

24 v-ante pōge a(ā)gnēyadoḷ Sindavurada pālāḷa sīvā(mā)-sandhi Puligila-koḷada teṁkaṇa kōḍiya pā-

25 rtta[da] guṭṭeyinda paśchim-ābhimukha-oḷege Niḍugeṟeya dakshiṇa kōḍiya kiṟuvuṇuse-

26 yinda Karvvaḷḷada dakshiṇa bhāgada pervvuṇuseyinda antepōge puṇuseya koḷada ba-

27 nniya maradinda Kuṁbhavu[ra*]da pālva(lvā) sīma(mā)-sandiya erey-oḷagaṇa Babbaliya koḷadinda utta[r-ā*]-

28 bhimukhadoḷ pē(pō)ge ereya kisukāḍa sandi [bhe]vuṇuseyinda Kundūra naḷbaṭṭe yindaṁ ka[mma]dindaṁ Tā-

29 ḷakeṟeya mu(mū)ḍaṇa kōḍiya ballēriya guṭṭeyindaṁ piriya pa(pā)rttada guṭṭeyindav-ante pōge pervvuṇuseya

30 koḷada mūḍaṇa goṇḍevuṇasegaḷindaṁ Ku[ṁ*]bhavu[ra*]da perggeṟey-ēriya mūḍaṇa aḍḍagaṭṭindaṁ Davaḷeyana

31 keṟeya paḍuvaṇa kōḍiya guṭṭeyindaṁ vanti ponnegeṟey-aḍḍagaṭṭina mēgaṇa pōgi eraḍu puttina gu-

THIRD PLATE

32 ṭṭeyinda Karbanniya koḷadinda bella patrada kuṟuvindav-ante vāyavyadoḷ bidikeya Kuṁbhavurada-sīma sandi[13]-

33 aṁbiya vuṇuseyind-ante pu(pū)rva(vā)bi(bhi)mukhadoḷ; pōge paḷḷad = oḷagaṇa sīgeya guṭṭeyinda vonde vuṇuse-yindav-ante

34 pōge yeraḍu bēvin-eḍeyindav- āge pōge taṟiyada[14] guṭṭeyinda puṇuseya kōḷadindav-āge ante nirvvāri sahita vā-

35 pugeṟeya paḍuvaṇa kōḍiya pervvuṇuse guṭṭeyindav-ante ēriya mēgaṇindav-isā(śā)nadoḷ[15] Tamaremogeya Si-

36 ndavurada-sīme sandiya guṭṭeyindav-ante[16] mēgaṇa bēvindav-ante dakshiṇa(ṇā) bhimukhadoḷ-pōge Savuḷakoḷad-oḷagaṇa

37 tuggila guṭṭeyinda Munnavāḍiyage naḍeda pervvuṇuseya guṭṭegāgi naḍedudu ī sā(śā)-

38 sanavaṁ bare[dōn-No]ḷaṁbha(ba)na-toledari Rāchayōjara magaṁ Chāvayyaṁge keṟeya-mo-

39 dalēriyoḷ-mūvattu guḷaṁ tōṇṭapaṭṭuṁ mu(mū)-gaṇḍuga-nirmmaṇṇuv-ā ūr-āvaraṇavun= na-

40 devadu a(ā)-grāma-mukhyaṁ geiṁ besakeydu bāḷvōn = aḷidō[ṁ*] grāmaman = aḷidōṁ ka(kā)lāntarast ā-

41 yyaṁ(yiyaṁ)[|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-a(ādi)bhiḥ [|*]yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*=] tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ[|| *]

42 koḷaṁ

Notes :

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1988-89, No. A.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, pp. 26–47 and plates.
3. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 258 ff.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XII, pp. 247 ff.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, pp. 278-279 and plates.
6. *Ibid.*, vol. XXIII, p. 104.
7. *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, p. 327.
8. From Impressions.

9. Read *prabhutvadin-āḷuttire.*

10. The letter *ga* is written below the letter *ne.*

11. The letter *ge* originally omitted has been subsequently written under the *anusvāra.*

12. The letter *ge* is written below the line.

13. The letter *sa* is written below the letter *ma.*

14. There is a *kākapāda* symbol in between the letters *da* and *gu*. The word *kolam* which is written as the last line should be supplied here.

15. The letter *na* is written below the letter *sa.*

16. The latters *yindav-ante* originally omitted, are engraved below the line and a *kākapāda* symbol has been engraved after the letter *oṭṭe* to indicate the omission.

8. SOME IMPORTANT PERSO ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANANTAPUR DISTRICT

M. Y. Quddusi

Anantapur, the present district of Andhra Pradesh once forming a part of the Vijayanagara kingdom was finally lost to the Ādil *Shāhīs* of Bijapur and Quṭb *Shāhīs* of Golkoṇḍa. Penukoṇḍa, now a taluk place was the second capital of the Vijayanagara rulers. After the destruction of the Vijayanagara, Penukoṇḍa was the capital of the rulers of Āravīḍu dynasty of the Vijayanagara till it was occupied by the Ādil *Shāhis*; while Gooty, Kadiri and Thummala alongwith other places, say a major portion of the present district came under the possession of the Quṭb *Shāhis*. After the fall and final extinction of the above two kingdoms in 1686-87 A.D., the region became a part the *Mughal* kingdom. From *Mughals*, it passed to the Nizam I, Miyānā Nawwābs, Hārḍe Chiefs, Pālēgār of Bellary, Māraṭha Chiefs of Gooty, Ḥyder 'Alī and Tīpū Sulṭān and again to the Nizāms for their help to the British in the war against Tīpū Sulṭān in 1799 A.D. Finally the British authorities got its control in 1800 A.D. and the district became a part of the then Madras Presidency.[1]

Though not very much rich in epigraphical wealth, Anantapur district has so far yielded about twenty-six Perso-Arabic inscriptions which were copied by the office of the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, A.S.I., Nagpur and have been noticed in the Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy.[2] The places which have yielded Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the district are: Kadiri, Kutagulla, Konakoṇḍalla, Penukoṇḍa, Tāḍpatri, Talapula and Thummala. In this article, it is proposed to highlight some important Perso-Arabic inscriptions from the district. The earliest record found in the district has come from Penukoṇḍa, a Taluk headquarters, situated about 72 kms. from Anantapur on the Kurnool-Bangalore Road. The epigraphical tablet is fixed above the entrance of the mosque in the Dargāh of *Shāh Fakhru'd-Dīn.*[3] Its Persian text, which is in *Naskh* characters, refers to the construction of a mosque by *Fakhru'd-Dīn* as early as in A. H. 693 (1293-94 A. D.). The builder *Fakhru'd-Dīn* was an early saint who died in A.H. 694 (1294-95 A.D.), one year after the construction of the mosque as per another inscription from the same place.[4] He lies buried in a seperate room near the mosque built by him.

These two inscriptions from the dargāh complex are very important and have revealed that even before the invasion by the Delhi Sulṭāns, Muslim saints and mystics had undertaken the sojourn in the south to spread their sacred misson. and with their missionary zeal for tolerance and universal brotherhood, they attracted numerous adherents to their fold. Not only the illiterate masses but the officials and ruling chiefs also became their devotees. The inscriptions have also proved that Hindu rulers of the time were tolerant in allowing the construction

of religious edifices belonging to the other faiths. We are also informed that the later Vijayanagara rulers like VīraNarasimha, Sadāśivarāya, Veṅkaṭa I and Veṅkaṭa II presented munificent grants to the shrine of Bābā *Fakhru 'd-Dīn* as a mark of their respect towards the saint.[5] Sayyid *Fakhru 'd-Dīn*, son of Sayyid Ḥusain Ḥusainī belonged to Sīstan (near Isfahan in Iran). He left his home town and came to Kashmir and from there to Gujarat where he stayed for about three years. From Gujarat, he reached Trichinopoly and met *Shaikh* Nathar Walī (d. 6 2/1225 A.D.) and became his disciple. On the direction of his preceptor, he left Trichonopoly for Penukoṇḍa. He permanently settled and died at Penukoṇḍa where his tomb still exists and annual *urs* takes place.[6]

Two more important and worth mentioning inscriptions from the same place are one each from the Jāmi' Mosque and dargāh complex. The Jāmi' Mosque inscription belongs to the reign of the 'Ādil *Shāhī* king, 'Alī 'Ādil *Shāh* II and is dated A.H. 1075 (1664-65 A.D.). The epigraph in Persian verse inscribed in *Naskh* characters, refers to the construction of the mosque, the *Khānqāh* and rooms for pious people by a lady named 'Azīza Sulṭān, when 'Abdu'l-Ḥusain was the governor of the place. The governor Abdu'l-Ḥusain is also mentioned in another inscription from the same place i.e. from the dargah complex dated, *Shuhūr* year 1074 corresponding to A. H. 1084 (1673-74 A.D.). The epigraph in Persian is built into the south wall of the front verandah of the dargāh of Bābā *Fakhru'd-Dīn*.[8] The epigraph forms the text of *sanad* (royal Document) which was ordered to be inscribed by Miyān Abdu'l-Ḥusain, the *Dīwān* of the fort (name not legible) advising the *'Āmils* (revenue offices), *Muqaddams* (village head) and *Riayān* (public) that the land, with a well, bound on four sides by stone marks situated in the town of Kanjladunkarki has been endowed for the benefits of the faqīr (attendant of the Dargāh). It also states that the income from the land may be spent on oil (i.e. for light) in the *Khāngāh* and other buildings. The text ends with an imprecation exhorting the Hindu or Muslim against the intereference in the grant. The ruling king is not mentioned in the grant but the period falls under reign of the last 'Ādil *Shāhī* ruler Sikandar 'Ādil *Shāh* (1672-86 A.D.). 'Abdu'l-Ḥusain mentioned in these two epigraphs is unfortunately not identified in the available records. However, he is very likely the same official who is mentioned in an inscription, dated A.H. 1043 (1633-34 A.D.) from Belgaum Fort, wherein he has been mentioned as the *amīn* of the place.[9] Later on, when this region came under the 'Ādil *Shāhīs*, he served as an important nobleman holding the prestigious post of governor and that he was later promoted as the minister (*Dīwān*) which post he held for a long time is only known from these records.

Two other persons or officials connected with Penukoṇḍa are also found in other inscriptions. An inscription found on west of a grave in the compound of the Inspection Bungalow,[10] is dated A. H. 1122 (1710-11 A.D.). The text of the record in Persian prose and verse, executed in *Naskh* style mentions Sa'ādatu'llāh *Khān*, the *Dīwān* as the builder of a mosque in A. H. 1122 (1710-11 A.D.). Sa'ādatu'llāh *Khān* who is mentioned in the epigraph as the *Dīwān* may be identified with his namesake who was the

first Nawwāb of Arcot who is credited to have built a mosque[11] and tomb of Tipu, the saint in 1141 (1728-29 A.D.). He died there and his tomb[12] also contains an inscription dated 1145 (1731-32 A.D.).[13] The present record of our study from Penukoṇḍa is the earliest in which Sa'ādutu'llāh Khān is mentioned as holding the post of Dīwān

Sher Khan's Bāolī at Penukoṇḍa has two inscriptions ; the first contains religions text[14], while the other which is unfortunately a fragmentary record[15] contains Persian verse in Naskh style. It is dated A.H. 1124 (1712-13 A.D,) and mentions one Sher Khan. Other details are lost. This record must have refered to the construction of the step-well (*Bāolī*) by Sher Khān, which is named after the builder. His identity is also not known.

A bilingual inscription from Thummala in Kadiri Taluk in Telugu and Persian is also quite important. It has been copied from a mosque in the village.[16] The Persian version, which is in Nasta'līq characters, records the construction of the mosque in A.H. 1085 (1674-75 A. D.) by Āqā Aḥmed Ganja'ī, a servant of Neknām Khān. The cognomen of Ganja'ī indicates the builder's connection by origin or domicile with the region of Ganja in the Azarbaijan in the Republic of USSR. The builder as stated in the text, was in the service of Neknām Khān who was looking after the administration at Thummala in some official capacity on behalf of his master Neknām Khān. Neknām Khān was the famous Quṭb Shāhī general who served as the governor in the Quṭb Shāhī teritories in Karnataka.[17] Āqā Aḥmad is also oredited to have built a tank known after his name as *Āqā Cheruvu* in 1676 A.D. and a big well[18] *Pedda Bhāvī*,which provides welcome material for local history as well as building activities during the period. The grave of Āqā Aḥmad is also spotted near the mosque in the village but unfortunately it has no epitaph.

Two inscriptions copied from Tāḍpatri, a taluk headquarters, indicates that the place had been of great importance under the Mughals. The first inscription is fixed above the central *miḥrāb* of the Jami' mosque.[19] The text is in Persian verse and is executed in Naskh characters which is remarkable for its very high quality of caligraphy. It records the construction of a mosque by Maḥmūd in A.H. 1107 (1696-97 A.D.). The text was inscribed by Abu' l-Ḥasan a' sh-Shīrāzī. The record is interesting as it has preserved the name of the artist who designed this epigraph. The cognomen *(Nisba)* suffixing the name shows that the calligrapher had hailed from Shīrāz, the famous city in Iran.

The second inscription in the group, forms an epitaph of a person whose grave is situated in the compound of the same mosque.[20] The text is in Persian, executed in Naskh characters. It refers to the martyrdom of one Muḥammad 'Abdu'llāh Shahīd, son of Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Kabīr in 1145 (1732-33 A.D.). The word Shahīd i.e. martyr indcates that the deceased had lost his life in some encounter.

No inscriptions of Hyder 'Alī and Tīpū Sulṭān have so far come to light from this district. In conclusion, we may say that the epigrahs from Anantapur district. have provided information not

only about the saintly person Shāh Fakhru 'd-Dīn but aiso about other persons and officials like 'Abdu'l-Ḥusain, Sa'ādatu'llāh Khān, Sher Khān, Maḥmūd and Āqā Aḥmad Ganja'ī who as the builders were responsible for the construction of edifices not only of religious nature but also of public utilily in the region.

This is, in brief, an account of the epigraphical discoveries in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh.

Notes :

1. Andhra Pradesh District Gazetters, Anantapur (Revised edition, 1970), pp. 66-102. Places of Interest in Andhra Pradesh, Vol. I ed. R. Parthasarathy (Hyderabad, 1984) pp. 7-23. Brief History of Andhra Pradesh ed. by M. A. Waheed Khan (Hyderabad, 1972), pp. 17–28.
2. *A.R.I.E.*, 1966-67 Appendix D. Nos. 1–9, 1980-81, Appendix C., Nos. 1–17.
3. *Ibid.*, 1966-67, Appendix D. No. 3.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 1.
5. Anantapur (Revised edition), p. 74.
6. Barkātu'l Auliyā by Sayyid Imāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad (Delhi, A. H. 1322), pp. 7–8, 10-11.
7. *A.R.I.E.*, 1966-67, Appendix D. No. 9.
8. *Ibid.*, No. 2.
9. *Ibid.*, 1952-53 Appendix C. No. 42, *E.I.A.P.S.*, 1955 and 1956, p. 72 pl. XVIII (b).
10. *Ibid.*, 1966-67, No. 8.
11. *Ibid.*, 1976-77, Nos. 233-34.
12. *Ibid.*, No. 241-42.
13. Māthiru'l-Umarā, Vol. II (Calcutta 1890), pp. 813-14.
14. *A.R.I.E.*, 1966-67 No. 6.
15. *Ibid.*, No. 7.
16. *Ibid.*, 1980-81 Appendix C. No. 13.
17. History of Medieval Deccan, Vol. I, ed. by Sherwani and Joshi (Hyderabad-1973), p.471; Anantapur (revised edition) p. 72.
18. *Ibid.*, Anantapur (Revised edition) p. 912.
19. *A.R.I.E.*, 1980-81, No. 14.
20. *Ibid.*, No. 15.

9. KADATTUR INSCRIPTIONS — A STUDY

S. Swaminathan

Kaḍattūr, a small hamlet situated on the eastern bank of the Amarāvati river, is in Udumalaipet taluk of Coimbatore district. The Śiva temple called Tirumarudu Uḍaiyār temple in inscriptions is picturesquely situated in an isolated corner of the village. The temple contains many inscriptions and they were copied in 1982 and 1986. Several beautiful sculptures dating back to the Chōḷa period are strewn inside the temple.

Most of these records refer to the donations of pillars, corbels *(pōtigai)*, beams, jambs, entrance door *(tirunilai)*, layer of the jamb *(paṭṭi)*, etc., These inscriptions are found engraved on the pillars of *mukhamaṇḍapa, ardhamaṇḍapa* and also on the pillars outside the temple. The earliest inscription[1] is dated in the third regnal year of the Koṅgu ruler Vīranārāyaṇa (1141 A.D.) which refers to the donation of a pillar and corbel by a dancing girl. This inscription is engraved on a pillar of *ardhamaṇḍapa*. The latest inscription is dated in the 29th regnal year of Vikramachōḷa (1284 A.D.) which refers to the gift of a pillar by a temple official at Kaḍattūr. It is not impossible that the temple was renovated during the time of Vīrarājēndra and all the inscriptions of his predecessors might have been re-engraved, because an inscription[2] from Saṅgrāmanallūr belonging to the reign of Vīrarājēndra refers to the devastation caused to Karaivaḷināḍu during the king's invasion and to the damages done to several temples in a number of places. It also records the gift made be the king to a number of temples including the temple of Tirumarudu-Uḍaiyār of Kaḍaṟṟūr. The palaeography of all these records seems to support this view. However, the renovation of the temple was not complete during his period and it extended many more years as an inscription of Vikramachōḷa refers to the gift of a pillar to the temple.

Kaḍattūr and Karaivaḷi-nāḍu :

Kaḍattūr is called in inscriptions as Kaḍaṟṟūr. However, an inscription of Vikramachōḷa calls his hamlet as Kaḍāṟṟūr *alias* Irājarājanallūr. The latter name was perhaps after a member of royal family. Kaḍaṟṟūr, according to the inscriptions is located in Karaivaḷi-nāḍu. The latter name denotes a territorial division which comprised mainly of the valley of the Amarāvati river which flowing from the Ānaimalai hill ranges, runs in a northern-eastern direction along the border of the Udumalaipet taluk and reaches Dhārāpuram, from whose vicinity it turns eastwards and flows and mixes with Kāvērī in the Karur taluk. Karaivaḷi-nāḍu, as the name implies is the region of the bank of the river. Almost all the places noted inside this division are on either side of the banks of the Amarāvati river[3].

Kaḍattūr was strategically important in the medieval period because it served as the border land of Pāṇḍya, Chēra territories abutting into the Koṅgu province. The geographical contiguity of this village or area with the Pāṇḍyas and Chēras and also its location on the riparian tract of Amrāvati

river further added to its importance. Inscriptions reveal that officials and chiefs wielded considerable influence and made contributions to the temple.

An inscription of Vīranārāyaṇa dated in his third regnal year (1141 A.D.) records that Saṅkaran Sāttan *alias* Chēravichchādi-vīrappallavaraiyan, a supervisory official of the cantonment at Kaḍaṟṟūr caused the construction of the front structure outside the beam *(mugavāṇam)* and also a beam to the temple.

Another inscription of Vīrachōḷa dated in his 19th regnal year (1202 A.D) mentions that Tiruttiṇān *alias* Tirunīlakaṇṭappalla-varaiyan, a member of the *Malaiyāḷa* regiment had caused a pillar made to the temple.

The existence and activities of the regiments are noticed in several records ranging from the reign of Vīranārāyaṇa to that of Vikramachōḷa. Kēraḷa influence in this region is evidenced by the occurrence of such names as Kēraḷakēsarippērēri[4] Vīrakēraḷamannarai[5], Vīrakēraḷanallūr[6], Vīra-kēraḷavaḷanāḍu[7], etc., in inscriptions from a neighbouring village Saṅgrāmanallūr during the period under review. The regiments posted at Kaḍattūr might be described as feudal armies designed to defend and incidentally leave their influence in this region. One particular record refers to Kumaran Kumaran, an official of the army. This individual is stated to be from Veḷḷappanāḍu. The latter place was in Malai-maṇḍalam, obviously in Kēraḷa. Individuals possessing names such as Malaiyāḷan Karuppu Kōḍaṉ, Kēraḷan Irāman, and Irāman Kumaran, hailing from Pālaikkāṭṭuchchēri, and Dēviya-chchēri in Veḷḷappanāḍu made contributions to the temple.

These evidences point to a period of the Kēraḷa occupation or influence of the region round the modern Udumalaipet and Pollachi during this period. This region was also exposed to external aggression through the Amarāvati river. Infact, the Chēra rulers made inroads into this border region for an inscription from Saṅgrāmanallūr refers to the defeat of Chēra by the ruler Vīrachōḷa. The Chēra rulers appear to have accepted the suzerainty of the Koṅgu rulers. In order to safeguard the area, a regiment analogous with the border security force, to thwart any invasion consisting of local population and neighbouring warriors of Kēraḷa was maintained. One more possibility is that these regiments might have been engaged to protect the temple at Kaḍaṟṟūr and its environs with a cantonment *(nilai)* as such instances are not unknown in the Koṅgu country.[8]

Now a digression. An inscription of Vikramachōḷa is interesting. It states that an individual Vikramachōḷa Tribhuvanaśiṅgan having been cured of diabetic disease *(pramēgam)* with the blessings of Āḷuḍaiyār Tirumarudu-uḍaiyār of Kaḍuṟṟūr donated two pieces of land with sowing capacity of nine *kalam* of paddy to the temple for providing midnight food offerings. One piece of land donated by him is said to have belonged to certain Udaiyādichchadēvar, as the latter betrayed the royal command and fled to Northern Koṅgu. Another piece of land which the donor and his brother obtained from this temple itself was permanently tax free with

all the rights. These lands were donated to the temple.

To conclude as Kaḍattūr is situated on a place conducive to free flow of migration, it attracted people from neighbouring places[9]. However, the temple administration continued to be in the hands of local people.

Notes:

1. Recently copied. It is being included in the *A.R.I.E.*, (under preparation).

2. *A.R.I.E.*, 1909, No. 143.

3. K. S. Vaidyanathan. *The Ancient Geography of the Koṅgu* Country (1983), p. 214.

4. *A.R.I.E.*, 1909, No. 130.

5. *Ibid.*, No. 128.

6. *Ibid.*, No. 133.

7. *Ibid.*, No. 141.

8. *Ibid.*, No. 167.

9. Another possibility is matrimonial relationship between the Koṅgu rulers and Kēraḷa rulers. This regiment might have served as a feudal army, as such instances are available in the history of Chōḷas of Thañjāvūr.

10. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HUND FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION

Ashvini Agrawal

An inscription on a marble-slab at Hund, in the Attock District, now in Pakistan, was first noticed by M.Court, who did not get a chance to study it. Later on Captain Burnes prepared a fascimile alongwith those of three other inscriptions discovered from Hund and sent them to James Prinsep who published its text togather with a lithograph in the *JASB*, vol.VI, pp. 877–79. A portion of the inscription was damaged as its Muslim owner had dugged into the stone to make mortar for grinding condiments. In 1924 the Government Epigrahist for India procured an estampage of this inscription from the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where the marble stone had been deposited probably by Capt. Burnes. However the inscription remained unedited till 1967 when K. V. Ramesh took up the study of this record and sent it for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* where it was received on 25-7-67. K. V. Ramesh has made many improvements in the text and has also made some thought provoking observations in the historical information contained in the epigraph. However there is still room for improvement, in the light of some recent findings of scholars with regard to the history and documents of the Hindu-Śāhi dynasty of Kabul and Udbhandapura. In the present study some important points concerning this inscription are being taken up.

Firstly the date assigned by Ramesh to this inscription needs to be examined. Ramesh has assigned this record to the second half of the eighth century A.D. He is perfectly right in regarding it as closely related in date and contents to the inscription of Mahārājñī Kāmeśvarīdevī, bearing dates 168 and 169 of an unspecified era. The latter inscription has been published by R. B. Daya Ram Sahni who has referred these dates to the Harsha era of A.D. 606.[1] Even when Sahni had assigned the Hund inscription of Kāmeśvarīdevī to A.D. 774, it was felt that the Śāradā characters of the inscription appeared to belong to a later date. A fresh examination of the problem of the era became absolutly necessary, when another Śāhi inscription - that of the reign of Jayapāla dated in the year 146 was discovered by Abdur Rehman, who published it in the *JRAS*, 1978, 31ff. Now, if following Sahni we refer the date 146 of Jayapāla's inscription to the Harsha Era, we shall get the date 146 + 606 = A.D. 752 for Jayapāla, whereas we know it definitely from Muslim writers that Jayapāla, was defeated by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1001. Rehman therefore rightly remarked that the date cannot and should not be referred to the era of Harsha. He examined the whole question at length and arrived at the conclusion that after the overthrow of the Turki-Śāhi ruler Lag Tōramāṇa and the establishment of the Hindu-Śāhi dynasty by Kallāra, a new era was found by him from the date of his accession to power which took place in A.D. 850. The dates in the Śāhi records are therefore naturally to be

referred to this era, which we may designate as Śāhi Era.[2] The dates in the Hund inscription of Mahārājñī Kāmēśvarīdēvī, when referred to the epoch of the Śāhi Era i.e. A.D. 850, would give us for Kāmēśvarīdēvī dates in the Christian years 1018 and 1019. On a comparison of the text of this inscription of Kāmēśvarīdēvī and the marble inscription now published by K.V. Ramesh we find, as already noted by Ramesh, that some of the names mentioned in these inscriptions are common to both of these records. For instance the inscription of Kāmēśvarīdēvī mentions the name of the architect Jayantarāja, son of Upēndra. He was a *Sūryadvija* i.e. a Sun-worshipping priest and hailed from Avanti of Western Malwa. Then there was a brāhmaṇa named Pillaka, the son of Virāditya and was a Pañchakula. The writer of this inscription was Bhōgika, son of the kāyastha Śrī Vihēnda. He too was a Sūryadvija or Sun-worshipper. We can trace these very names in lines 12-13 of the other Hund inscription under discussion. It first mentions the *navakarmapati* Jayanta[rāja], next the brāhmaṇa Pillaka, whose father's name is lost. Next comes Bhōgi[ka], the son of kāyastha Śrī-Vihēnda. The close identity of these names clearly establishes that both the inscriptions belong to the same period approximately.

We know from Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that the Śāhi family had close friendly relations with the kings of Kashmir. Some Śāhi princes held important offices at the court of Lalitāditya.[3] Diddā, the maternal grand-daughter of Bhīma Lēva Sāhi, was married to the Kashmir king Kshēmagupta (A.D. 950-58). King Saṁgrāmarāja of Kashmir sent an army under Tuṅga to help the Śāhi monarch Trilōchanapāla, against Mahmud of Ghazni.[4] Rudrapāla and other Śāhi princes held important offices at the court of king Ananta of Kashmir.[5] Ananta's queen Sūryamatī was a sister of the wife of Rudrapāla.[6] In view of these facts it appears to be almost certain that Anantadēva *nṛipati* mentioned in the Hund marble-stone fragmentary inscription is none else but the king of Kashmir who ruled from A.D. 1028 to A.D. 1063. Accordingly, the Hund fragmentary inscription has to be placed sometimes after A.D. 1028.

We may now consider one more point regarding this inscription, viz. the identification of the king praised in verse 2 of this inscription in the following words: "His fame has became established in the ends of the quarters, the ocean and so also in the world. By whom, who alone possesses the self capable of dispelling the numerous forces of the haughty Turk". The Turushka army of this inscription and that of Kalhaṇa's account has been rightly identified by Renaud with the army of Mahmud of Ghazni, who figures as Hammīra in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[7] We learn from Kalhaṇa that king Saṁgrāmarāja of Kashmir (A.D. 1003 to 1028) had sent an army under his chief commander Tuṅga to help the Śāhi king Trilōchanapāla in his struggle against the Turkish invader Mahmud of Ghazni. It is a matter of great regret that Kalhaṇa has not mentioned the date of Tuṅga's expedition, sent to help Trilōchanapāla. However, after making a careful study of the accounts of Muslim historians, Stein has come to the conclusion that "Mahmud's campaign of the year 1013 was the most likely occasion when his

forces met Kashmirian troops as auxiliaries of Trilōchanapāla.[8]

As, in A D. 1013 since it is Saṁgrāmarāja who was ruling over Kashmir, the verse 2 evidently refers to him. Any clash between Anantadēva and the armies of Mahmud is ruled out by the fact that Mahmud's invasion of Kashmir proper took place in A.D 1028. Moreover Kalhaṇa does not mention any clash between the Turushka armies and Ananta, although he has given a detailed account of the reign of Ananta. Therefore we can safely conclude that the ruler mentioned in verse 2, who was competent to repell the Turk armies was Saṁgrāmarāja who ruled over Kashmir from A.D. 1003 to 1028.

Notes :

1. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII, 97 ff.
2. For details see *JRAS.*, 1978, 34–36.
3. *Rājatrangiṇi*, IV, 143.
4. *Ibid.*, VII, 47 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, VII, 144.
6. *Ibid.*, VII, 152.
7. *Ibid.*, VII, 64. The identification is fully supported by Renaud, who is quoted by Aurel Stein as follows : "Renaud has rightly pointed out that the expression Turushka used for Trilōchanapāla's opponents, VII, 51, 56 is particularly appropriate for Mahmud's army which consisted chiefly of soldiers of Turkish origin." Stein, Rājataraṅgiṇī, I, f.n. I to VII, 47-69, pp. 270-71.
8. Stein, *Ibid.*, I, 107.

11. INSCRIPTIONS OF KERALA : DIFFERENT GENRES

V. Manmathan Nair

Generally the Ancient Indian Records are classified into two major types : namely 1. Royal or official 2. Private or individual.[1] But there are detailed references in Dharmaśāstras about the rāja-śāsanas or royal records. eg. Lēkhya prakaraṇa in Yājña-valkya-smṛiti.[2] The great Malayalam Poet Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer published a book named Vyavahāramālā in 1925 in Śrīmūlam Malayalam Series. The work is assigned to 14th century A.D.[3] The name of the author is mentioned nowhere in the text. This book which contains 1234 ślōkas (verses) includes description of codes of conduct and customs of the country. Of these, 50 ślōkas deal with different types of records that exist mainly in Kerala. It is significant that all the available inscriptions of Kerala conform to the definitions given in the Vyavahāramālā. The following paper is an analysis made on the epigraphical findings of Kerala with special reference to the Vyavhāramālā.

Inscriptions are mainly of three kinds. They are Rājalēkhya, Sthāna Lēkhya and Svahastalikhita.

> Rājalēkhyaṁ sthānalēkhyaṁ sva-hastalikhitaṁ tathā ।
>
> lēkhyan=tu trividhaṁ prōktaṁ bhinnaṁ tad=daśadhā punaḥ ॥

Rāja Śāsana : Rājaśāsana is a kind of inscription which bears the name, signature and the royal seal of the king. The preparations and writing of this should be entrusted to a person who writes royal documents regularly. Correction, overwriting, omission and all kinds of mistakes should be excluded from such inscriptions. Thus the inscription is more authoritative than any kind of inscription.

> Rājā sva-hasta-cbihnēna sandhivigraha-lēkhakaiḥ ।
>
> likhitaṁ rāja-nāmānkaṁ mudritaṁ rāja-mudrayā ॥
>
> sphashṭa-varṇa-kram-ōpētam=avilupta-kram-āksharam ।
>
> rāja-śāsanam=ētat = syād = uttamaṁ sarva-lēkhyataḥ ॥

Sthāna Lēkhya

For the convenience of rule the king entrusts the employees or the provincial lords or chieftains with certain duties. These chieftains or lords or employees give orders on their own behalf. Such orders are known as Sthāna likhita.

The Mūnchiṟa Maḍam inscription of S. 1692[4] can be cited as an instance of Sthāna Lēkhya. In this record Kūnūr Nambūdiri, Manager of the *samudāyam* issues an order of the *maḍam* administration. Another typical example can be cited from selected Notifications of Travancore.[5]

Svahasta Likhita

The citizens for their transactions, for their business and activities of life prepare

certain inscriptions adhering to the customs traditions and the existing laws. Such inscriptions and legal documents are known as Svahasta Likhita.

This itself is divided into ten different types according to its style, form and contents.

Dāna-lēkhyaṁ bhāga-lēkhyaṁ sīmā-lēkhyaṁ tath=aiva cha ।

kraya-lēkhyaṁ dāna-lēkhyam=ādhi-lēkhyaṁ tataḥ param ॥

saṁvid = uddāma-lēkhyaṁ cha jala-patrakam=ēva cha ।

sandhi patraṁ tath=aiv=aitat=kriyā bhēdāt=anēkathā ॥

They are, Dāna Lēkhya
Bhāga Lēkhya
Sīmā Lēkhya
Kraya Lēkhya
Dāna Lēkhya
Ādhi Lēkhya
Samvitti Lēkhya
Uddāma Lēkhya
Jaya patra and
Sandhi patra.

Dāna Lēkhya

This refers to the contribution of land on the condition that this land should be kept intact without destroying it. It should be preserved as long as the sun and moon exist. It should not be taken into anyone's custody by forgery or any other foul means. Such a document or inscription is known as Dāna Lēkhya.

Bhūmiṁ datvā tu yat=kuryāl=lēkhyan =chandr-ārka-kālakam ।

anāchchhēdyaṁ n=āhāryaṁ dāna-lēkhyan=tu tat=smṛitam ॥

Most of the inscriptions published in the Travancore Archaelogical series, especially temple inscriptions are Dāna Lēkhyam. Dāna or contribution is of different kinds. The rulers contributed tax free land/objects to temples as is known from inscriptions and these are known as *dēvadāna*. Tiruppaṇi-dāna is different. Constructing *sthūpa*, *maṇḍapa* etc. and dedicating it to some shrines are known as Tiruppaṇi dāna. The giving of royal meals to brāhmaṇas in temples is known as *anna dāna*.

Bhāga Lēkhya : Partition and distribution of assets and properties among children and grandchildren also become the topic of this kind of document. The inscription which deals with the agreement or promisory note is also known as Bhāga Lēkhya.

Vibhāga-patram=ity = ētad = vibhāgi-nāṁ nirṇayē kṛitē ।

sīmā vivādē nirṇītē sīmā-patram=iti smṛitam ॥

In the second year opposite to the thirty first of the reign of the king Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva, the king, hearing that the lands he granted when he established the *agrahāra* were insufficient, two shares were granted to Irungiṇḍi Tiruveṇgaḍa-bhaṭṭa and Sarvadēvabhaṭṭa of Muppuram, residents of Parākrama Pāṇḍya Chatur-vēdimaṅgalam.[6]

Another example is Sāmbūr-Vaḍagarai inscription of Jaṭilavarman Śrīvallabhadēva

in the year 3 opposite to the 2nd of the reign of the king Jaṭilavarman.[7]

Sīmā lēkhya

Fixing the boundaries of land and thus making it clear through a legal document is known as Sīmā Lēkhyam. In most of the Dāna Lēkhya and Bhāga Lēkhya records, the limits and boundaries are mentioned.As an instance the stone inscription of Vīra Pāṇḍya at Suchīndram temple can be cited.[8]

Kraya Lēkhya

The inscriptions dealing with the transactions of land, field etc, and the documents in this regard are known as *Kraya Lēkhya.*

> Gṛiha - kshētr - ādikaṁ kritvā tulya-mūlya-kray-ānvitam ı
>
> pattraṁ kārayatē yat=tu lēkhyan=tat=krayam=uchyatē ॥

A copper plate record of M. E. 945 registers the sale deed given by Muttu Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha Sētupati to the Travancore king Śrī Padmanābha Dāsa Bālarāmavarma Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ in respect of the sale for 4000 *Varāhan*, of the village of Kakkūr, which was afterwards presented by the latter to the temple of Rāmanātha Svāmin at Rāmēśvaram for conducting a service to the god in his name.[9]

Ādhi Lēkhya : The document based on pledging properties or objects is Ādhi lēkhyam. Ādhi means the pledge given to those who lend money. The person who receives money gives gold, silver and land etc. as assurance. Such things are known as Ādhi.

> Ādhyartham=ādhilēkhyaṁ cha syād=dāsārthaṁ dāsapatrakam ı
>
> ādhis=tu trividhā prōktā bhōgyō gōpyas=tath=aiva cha ı
>
> arthaṁ pratyaya-hētuś=cha chaturtha s=tv=ājñayā kṛitaḥ ॥

The Polaiyār plate in Kollam 856[10] is an example of this kind of document possession. It states that a certain Śūri Iṭṭi took a loan of 111 *paṇam* from the church authorities at Palaiyar at *neṟpaliśai* and gave as security for that amount certain lands whose produce was to be enjoyed by the churches and equated towards the interest due on the loan.

Vyavahāramālā makes it clear that Ādhi Lēkhya itself has 4 different types. The kind of mortgage in which land or such other property is transferred to the giver of money as an equivalent assurance for the interest of money is the first category termed.

Bhōgyādhi

> Dravyaṁ gṛihītvā vṛiddhyarthaṁ bhōga-yōgyaṁ dadāti chēt ı
>
> jaṅgamaṁ sthāvaraṁ v=āpi bhōgyādhis=sa tu kathyatē ॥

The document is given to be kept as an assurance for lended money stating that the money given on interest should not be destroyed is Gōpyādhi. But Pratyādhi is a different kind It is a document stating that money borrowed on interest if not repaid on time should be seized from a different person as directed in the document itself.

If a person fails to return the money borrowed on pledge, the dispute may be referred to the king or the ruler of the authority. The ruler based on the evidence and justice of the case passes verdict to seize the money from the person who borrowed it. A document or inscription of this type is 'Ājñādhi'.

Gōpy-ādhis=tu parēbhyas=svaṁ dattvā='tō gōpyatē gṛihē ।
artha-pratyaya-hētur=yaḥ pratyay=ādhis=sa uchyatē ।
ājñādhir=nāma yō rājñas=saṁsadō v=ājñayā kṛitaḥ ॥

Daśa Lekhya. The document which points out that so and so or such persons are the servants is *Daśa Lēkhya.* For instance see the inscription of Suchīndram temple of Vīra Kēraḷa Varman. It records the fact that the king appointed as treasury servant of the Suchīndram temple a certain native of Karumkuḍi-nāḍu [10]

The Vaḍaśēri record of Udaiya Mārttāṇḍavarman in the Kollam era 708 registers the appointment of temple accountant. There are similar inscriptions at Tōvāḷai and Tāḷakkuḍi which records the appointment of temple servants.

Samvitti pattra

For the achievement of certain aims, the villagers, tribes and groups of society write certain documents. They will not be against the śāstras and will be adhering to divine justice. Such inscriptions are called Samvitti Pattram.

samō hitārthaṁ siddhyarthaṁ grāma-śrēṇīgaṇādibhiḥ ।
śāstr-avirōdha-dharmārthaṁ kṛitaṁ saṁvitti-patrakam ॥

The *Sarvasvarpaṇa Ōla* known as the thripaḍidāna rēkhā of M.E. 925 of Marttāṇḍavarma, the king of Travancore is an example for this. The king dedicates his country and all his belongings at the feet of his deity Śrī Padmanābha as a protection from enemies, in this inscription.

Uddāma pattra or Ṛiṇa pattra.

For one's progress and benefit one borrows money. For this, a deed or a document is given. Snch a document is known as Uddāma pattra.

Dhanaṁ gṛihītvā vṛiddhyarthaṁ svayaṁ kuryāch=cha kārayēt ।
uddāmapattraṁ tat=prōktam=ṛiṇa-lēkhyam=manīshibhiḥ ॥

Jayapattra is the passing of judgement on an issue. It should register the argument of a case in detail of both the defendent and plaintiff. This document should bear the royal stamp. The signatures of the king, the judge and the noblemen also should be entered. Such an inscription is Jayapattra. Mūnchiṟai maṭha Inscription of ME. 1020 is an example for Jayapattra.[11]

It mentions that one lakh and odd *paṇam* had been misappropriated from the income of Mūnchiṟai-maṭha, by six brāhmaṇas and two Kārikkārs, and as four more persons also has sided with these defaulters and had made false petitions it was decided that all these men and their descendants shall have nothing more to do with the *maṭham* thereafter. And these men were thenceforth ostracised from the management of the *maṭham.*

Another document dated in M.E. 839 (A.D. 1684) contains information as to how the *samudāyam* or temple assembly of Tiruveḷunnannūr disposed of a case and how it was adjudged and the offender brought to book by confiscation of some of his property to the temple.

A deed of mutual agreement or compromise is known as *Sandhi Pattra.* It should be signed by both the parties.

Sandhou kṛite tu yal= lēkhyaṁ sandhi-lēkhyam = its smṛitaḥ ||

The treaty between the Cochin Royal family and the Dutch East India company dated Putu Vaippu Era 322 (A.D. 1663)[13] and the treaty between the Zamorins of Calicut and the Dutch East India Company in 1663 A.D. Nov 16 (kept in India office library at London) engraved in gold leaf are examples for *sandhi pattra.*

The Trippūnittuṟa record of Kōdai-Ravi[14] in his 30th regnal year (13 century A.D.) states that the assembly and temple officials having unanimously met together under the presidency of Ravi Ādichchhan made certain regulations regarding the temple administration.

Another *sandhi pattra* record of M.E. 970[15] states that 'we having been pleased to put a stop to quarrels, injustice, tyranny, and blackmail and confiscation of fish, hereafter live in an asylum for the oppressed'.

There are a number of inscriptions in Kerala which cannot be properly classified or termed. For example we have the *Prāyaśchitta Ōlakkaraṇam* (document of expiation). Two inscriptions can be cited as examples. Of these, one refers to the document which describes the act of giving an amout as a fine or compensation to the temple treasuary for denying and dishonouring the customs of a temple.

The Pattaḷi copper scroll, of M.E. 971[16] relates to the *prāyaśchitta* or expiation in the form of 100 *rāśi,* which the *karakkār* connected with the Bhagavatī temple were forced to pay, for having set at defiance the authority of *Kampittan,* in whom had been vested the administration of the properties belonging to the temple

Another inscripion in the temple of Nagercoil[17] dated M.E. 697 states that the king made a gift of ten *mā* of lands for the expenses of performing *Sarvaprāyaśchitta* (purificatory ceremonies) in the temple of Nāgarāja at Kōṭṭāru.

The Tiruveḷunnannūr records,[18] which contain thirty eight copper plates gives the names of the following varieties of documents.

1. Karpūravila-Ōla
2. Tōraṇa-taragu-vila-ōla
3. Paḍukala-ōla
4. Naḍamāḍu paḍukala ōla
5. Amśavila-ōla
6. Kaḍavāyppa-ōla or mūṟi
7. Oṟṟi-ōla
8. Nēoṟṟi-ōla.

The names cited above could be derived from the special nature of or purposes for which those transctions were made.

Many drawbacks are pointed out by those who make research oriented study of the inscriptions of Kerala. 1. The main problem they confront with is the lack of any idea about the time or period of the inscription. 2. Those inscriptions which shows time and date have the language of a later period. 3. Certain inscriptions enumerate a list of names as in exodus. 4. Doubts have been raised against the relevance of depicting the details of the administration of a temple or the details of alms given. But all these doubts have been cleared up by the author of Vyavahāramālā.

1. The Karalēkhyam which conforms to the customs of the province or village or country is considered as valid even if it bears no date or month or year.

Dēś-āchāra-sthitiyutaṁ kara-lēkhyam= iti smṛitam ।

samā-mās-ādi-hinan = tu pramāṇaṁ tad=bhavēt=punaḥ ॥

2. If the lēkhyam or inscription is taken away to another province, even if some slips or errors intrude in sentences, if it is stolen, torn way or ruined by fire, another inscription could well be made.

Dēśāntarasthē durllēkhyē nashṭē dushṭē hṛitē=pi vā ।

bhinnē dagdhē='thavā chhinnē lēkhyam =anyat=tu kārayēt ॥

For example the Tiruvelunnannūr records,[19] have been later copies.

3. Another requisite is that Dānariṇa lēkhya should have the names of the forefathers, of the scribe and of the person who gives the alms.

samā-māsa-tadarth-āhar = nāma jāti-svagōtrakam ।

sa-brahmachārik=ātmīya-pitṛi-nāmādi-chihnitam ॥

When a person who borrows money gives a deed in writing in his own hand, witness is not required. But if the deed is prepared by an expert professional writer, the writer and witness also should sign the deed with their full name.

Sākshiṇaś = cha sva-hastēna pitṛi-nāmānka pūrvakam ।

atr=āham=amukas=sākshī likhēyur= iti tē samāḥ ॥

4. If a lēkhya (inscription) is to be valid it should be made known to the public. Even if an inscription lacks a witness or the witness dies thereafter, a published inscription becomes valid

kula - śrēṇi - gaṇādīnāṁ yathā-kālaṁ pradarśitam ।

śrāvayēt smārayēch = ch = aiva tathā syād=balavattaram ॥

darśitaṁ pratikālaṁ yach=chhrāvitaṁ smāritaṁ cha yat ।

lēkhyaṁ siddhayati sarvvatra mṛitēshv =api sākshishu ॥

The final guidelines given by the author of Vyavahāramālā is that inscriptions should not be subjected to surmise and doubt. They should not be given false interpretations just to show one's skill in language.

Vāchakair=y=ādi sāmarthyam=aksha-
rāṇi nihanyatē ı

kṛiyāṇāṁ sarva-nāśas=syād=anavasthā
na jāyatē ||

The contents of Vyavahāramālā still remain to be the guideline for the research scholars in epigraphy. Moreover it proves the awareness and knowledge of ancient Indians in the preservation and interpretation of ancient records. To the historians who challenge the authenticity of ancient Indian historiography, the above study is an apt reply.

Notes :

1. *Indian Palaeography*, Raj Bali Pandey, p. 129.
2. *Indian Epigraphy*, D. C. Sircar.
3. *Vyavahāramālā*, p. 1.
4. *TAS.*, vol. I, pp. 427-28.
5. *Selected Notifications of Travancore*, p. 96.
6. *TAS.*, vol. I, p. 255.
7. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 18-21.
8. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 7-18.
9. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 89–91.
10. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 105.
11. *Ibid.*, vol. VII, pp. 23–24.
12. *Ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 59–60.
13. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 66–78.
14. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 89–91.
15. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 181.
16. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 93–96.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-63.

12. ENDOWMENTS TO THE SRIKALAHASTISVARA TEMPLE-AN ANALYTICAL STUDY

D. Kiran Kranth Choudary

Śrikāḷahasti is one of the famous Śaiva centres in the country. It is the head-quarters of the *maṇḍalam* of that name in Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. It is situated at a distance of about 104 km. to north-east of Chittoor town, the district headquarters and on the Reṇiguṇṭa-Gūḍūr broadgauge section of the South Central Railway. The Śrīkāḷahastīśvara temple is situated on the eastern bank of the river Suvarṇamukhī.

Two hundred and twenty one inscriptions engraved in the Śrīkāḷahastīśvara temple are of high value for not only the historical but also the cultural and the economic history of South India in general and the Chittoor region in particular. A majority of inscriptions are in Tamil language. The earliest of these inscriptions is dated in the 16th regnal year (1000-01 A.D.) of Rājarāja I[1] while the latest belongs to 1569-70 A.D.[2] Thus we have an uninterrupted history of the temple spreading over a period of more than five centuries. This temple enjoyed the patronage of the Imperial Chōḷas and their feudatories and the Vijayanagara kings. Majority of the inscriptions record donations made to the temple for various purposes by people from all walks of life.

grants/services	11th century	12th century	13th century	14th century	15th century	16th century	Total
perpetual lamps (*tirunandāviḷakku*)	44	89¾	54½	2	1	4	195¼
cows	476	640	96	70	32	—	1314
sheep/goats	864	2167	906	—	—	—	3937
land	—	7	8	3	—	—	18
villages	—	—	1	—	—	13	14
money	2	11	7	—	—	26	47 (occasions)
gold/jewels etc.	7	—	1	—	—	4	12 (occasions)
structural additions	—	1	1	—	—	2	4

The aim of the present paper is to subject the inscriptions of the Śrīkāḷahastīśvara temple to an analytical study to know not only the cultural history but also the pattern of endowments made to this temple over centuries. It may be observed from the following study that the objects and purposes of donations varied from period to period and this is of particular interest as it may have bearing on not only the economic but also the cultural history of the region. The table given below helps us to have an idea of the pattern of endowments made to the temple in question.

The above table reveals certain interesting facts. Firstly, the temple received the maximium number of donations in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries. Secondly, the most favoured donation was setting up perpetual lamps. The maximum number of lamps were donated in the 12th century. After the 13th century the donation of lamps became neglegible (Merely two, one and four lamps were donated during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, respectively). Thirdly, during the 16th century, money and villages were favoured more for endowments to the temple.

For the maintenance of the perpetual lamps cows, sheep, goats, land and cash were gifted to the temple. From the epigraphs, it is clear that to set up one perpetual lamp the donor, in general, had to donate either 96 sheep or goats or 32 cows. Sometimes a bull or a ram was also gifted along with the cows or sheep as the case may be. The cattle donated to the temple was generally entrusted to the shepherds (*maṉṟāḍis*)[3] with the stipulation that they should regularaly supply a specified quantity of ghee to the temple. Generally the person entrusted with the cattle had to supply daily one *uḷakku* of ghee, usually measured by the liquid measure *tirukkāḷattiuḍaiyāṉ-uḷakku*, obviouly named after the god and standardized by the temple authorities, to keep the perpetual lamp burning. It is interesting to note these *maṉṟāḍis* were referred to as *tiruviḷakkumaṉṟāḍis*[4] in inscripitions. There are instances of some other *maṉṟāḍis* standing guarantee for the uninterrupted supply of the stipulated quantities of ghee by the recipients of the gift cattle[5]. From an epigraph dated 1011-12 A.D. we come know that when a donee failed to supply the stipulated quantity of ghee, curd etc, to the temple an enquiry was conducted by an officer who not only restored the supply of ghee etc., but also ordered the payment of compensation to the temple by the defaulter[6]. This attests to the royal interference in the temple administration, particularly when warranted.

In a few cases, the gift of half-a-lamp and one-fourth-of a lamp was also accepted and for this 50 and 25 sheep (or 8 cows) were donated respectively[7]. In one case as many as 96 were gifted for maintaining half-a-lamp.[8]

It is very significant that one of the inscriptions from the Śrīkāḷahastīśvara temple records the gift of all cattle belonging to a person, who died issueless, by his sister's son. The inscription further states that the latter, having received 8 cows and one bull as the temple cattle, accepted to supply ghee for burning one fourth of a

lamp[9]. In this context we may recall that one of the inscriptions from Mangoli, (Bagewadi taluk, Bijapur dt.), dated 1178A D., lays down that in case of the death of a person who does not have any legal heir, his entire property should be made over as a religious grant "to those who hold the grants of the gods" i.e. who look after the temple properties[10]. It actually means that the property should be given away to a temple.

An inscription dated 1016 A.D., records the gift of 96 sheep for burning a perpetual lamp in the Śrīkāḷahastīśvara temple for the merit of two soldiers, one of whom died in a personal quarrel with the other[11]. The point of interest is that the gift of lamp was made by a third soldier who thought it fit to set it up for the merit of both the soldiers involved in the quarrel, perhaps to ward off their sins.

In lieu of cattle, either cash or land was also granted for maintaining lamps. One of the inscriptions dated 1023-24 A.D. records a gift of 75 *kāśu* to the temple treasury for burning a lamp on every Kārttika day[12]. The interest of 2 *kāśu* accruing from the capital amount alone was to be utilised not only for burning the lamp but also for other offerings. Another inscription dated 1100-01 A.D. states that 40 *kāśu* were deposited with the temple with the stipulation that the interest of 6 *kāśu* earned every month on it was to be utilised for maintaining the perpetual lamps[13].

Apart from the perpetual lamps twilight lamps *(sandhiviḷakku)* were also set up in the temple. An inscription dated 1096-97A.D. records the gift of 32 cows for maintaining 10 bright twilight lamps during the first evening service of the god[14]. Another inscription records the gift of one *nokki-māḍai* for burning a *sandhi* lamp[15].

There are instances of gifting metal lamp stands like *iraṇḍunilaikuttiviḷakku* (double decked lamp stand) brass, lamp *(tirukkuṭṭu-viḷakku)* with a stand *(nārāśam)* to the temple for burning lamps.

Endowments were also made to the Śrīkāḷahastīśvara temple for the maintenance of temple officials and servants. Often they were paid wages in the form of money or land. An inscription dated 1008-09 A.D. records the gift of 14¾ *kaḷañju* and *kuṇṛi* of gold to the priests of the inner precincts *(tiruvuṇṇāḻigaipperumakkaḷ)* for cleaning and decorating the premises of the Śrīkāḷahastīśvara shrine[16]. Another epigraph dated 1116-17 A.D. registers a gift of land for providing food to the servants, who looked after the temple streets[17]. Two more inscriptions, both dated 1210-11 A.D., record gifts of land for the maintenance of two persons employed in the flower garden of the temple[18]. These instances indicate that the temple officials were granted either cash or land for their maintenance.

Grants of cash or villages or tax-incomes were also made for conducting certain speficied services and festivals in the temple. An inscription dated 1016 A.D. records the gift of 6 *kaḷañju* of gold for various food offerings to be made during *Uttarāyaṇa* and *Dakshiṇāyana saṁkrāntis*[19]. Another inscription dated 1034-35 A.D. records an endowment of 3 *kaḷañju* of gold for the supply of one *nāḻi* of *tumbai* flowers to the Śrīkāḷahastīśvara daily[20]. An inscription

dated 1095-96 A.D., records the grant of 25 *paṭṭi* of deforested land to provide extra offerings to the god on Sunday, new moon day; and on the days of *Tirunūlerruppaḍi* festivals[21]. Yet another epigraph dated 1221 A.D records a gift of land for providing food offerings and burning lamps[22]. The said land was a forest land and hence it was ordained that the forest must be cleared off and land was to be converted into wet and dry land. These instances clearly indicate the keen interest evinced by the temple authorities in bringing more and more land under cultivation so that the temple could be beneficted by increased revenue. An inscription dated 1254 A.D. records the grant of a village for supplying two *tūmbu* of rice for *sandhi* worship and the same rice was to be used for feeding 30 *dēśāntaris* and to supply rice for 5 *brāhmaṇas* in the *tyāgamēghaṇmaṭha*[23]. Another inscription records the gift of land for raising one flower garden to supply one *ōraṇai* of garland daily to god and for setting up a free drinking water stall *(taṇṇīr-pandal)*[24].

As already mentioned above, during the 16th century the temple received money and villages on more occasions than earlier. These grants were made for providing various food offerings. An inscription dated 1510 A.D. records the gift of 800 *paṇam* for the repair of the *mantirikuḷam* in the *dēvadāna* village to provide food offerings permanently during the early morning worship[25]. Another inscription dated 17th Feb.1517A.D, mentions the gift of 850 *poṇ* for providing offerings during early mornig services. It is interesting to note that the temple authorities utilised that money for improving the land and tank in the *dēvadāna* village[26].

An inscription dated 4th November 1517 A D. records the grant of a village, the income of which was utilised for providing morning service, a flower garland and burning four lamps daily in the temple[27] Another inscription dated[27]th July 1532 A.D, records the grant of 7¾ villages and the export and import duties from certain specified ports for worship and offerings to the god on festival days[27]. Generally, the money granted for providing various food offerings to the god during 16th the century was utilised to better the irrigational facilities in the *dēvadāna* land by way of effecting necessary repairs to the existing tanks[23]. Here it is interesting to note that several inscriptions from Tirumala and Tirupati have similar information[30].

A few epigraphs from the temple provide us information regarding the construction of additional structures. An inscription dated 1188-89 A.D., records the construction of a *maṇḍapa* and flight of steps with granite[31]. A lone record of *Sāmanta* Bhōja states that he had firmly and permanently established the temple[32]. This may mean that he either strengthened the temple in question by adding some more structures or renovated the same wherever it was necessary. Another inscription dated 5th January 1517 A D, records the construction of a 100 pillared *maṇḍapa* and a big *gōpura*[33].

The above study is only an attempt to introduce the mine of information the Śrīkāḷahastīśvara temple inscriptions contain to the Indologists. The inscriptions present the temple not only as a cultural centre but also as an economically strong institution. Some of the inscriptions of this temple-town attest to the efforts made by

the temple to bring large extents of land under cultivation. Several inscriptions of Tirupati-Tirumala Devasthanams and a few from the Varāhanarasimhasvāmi temple at Simhāchalam make it abundantly clear that the temple authorities, obviously with the consent of the donors, utilised the gifts made for various purposes either to bring land under cultivation afresh or to improve the already existing irrigation facilities in temple villages. Needless to say, this would have provided great impetus to agriculture. Thus the temple played a key role in the economic development of society. That the temple was not only a religious centre but also played a role of philanthropist is proved by the inscriptions, which record the setting up of centres for free feeding and providing water. Lastly, it may be noted that we have a few inscriptions, not only in Śrīkāḷahasti but also in Tirupati, Tirumala, Kāñchīpuram and Śrīmushṇam, composed in the four languages viz., Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa. Since all the inscriptions belong to the Vijayanagara period, taking the provenance of these places into consideration, we may suggest that the Vijayanagara kings adopted three language formula (it not four) to suit to the convenience of the people of these border temple towns.

Notes :

1. *SII.*, vol. XVII, No. 323.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 331.
3. Identical with the term *mandaḍi* referred to in Telugu inscriptions in similar context.
4. *SII.*, vol. VIII, Nos. 478, 487. Here it may be recalled that an inscription from Pālakollu refers to the land endowed for maintaining a lamp is referred to as *divyakshētramu (dīpakshētra).* S. S. Ramachandra Murthy, *Andhra Pradesh Devalaya sasana samiksha,* Tirupati-1984) p. 22.

   It is also interesting to note that many of the names of the *maṇṛāḍis* end with the term *kōn* (eg. Gaṇapatikkōn, Śelvakkōn, Puliyakkōn, Arasakkōn, Vaḍugakkōn). This means 'a shepherd'. The same expression is found used in the same context in Telugu inscriptions also, wherein it is found as *Konari* (*SII.*, vol. V, No. 1294). Here we may note that the present Tamil form of this word is *Konār.*
5. *SII.*, vol. XVII, No. 320.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 328.
7. 105, 117, 126 of 1922.
8. *Ibid.*, 130.
9. *SII.*, vol. VIII, No. 493.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. V, p. 28.

11. *SII.*, vol. XVII, No. 315.
12. *Ibid.*, No. 305.
13. 142 of 1922.
14. *Ibid.*, No. 84.
15. *SII.*, vol. XVII, No. 474.
16. *Ibid.*, No. 327.
17. 173 of 1922.
18. *Ibid.*, Nos. 92, 133.
19. *SII.*, vol. XVII, No. 314.
20. *Ibid.*, No. 310.
21. 157 of 1922.
22. *SII.*, vol. VIII, No. 499.
23. *Ibid.*, No. 470.
24. *Ibid.*, No. 484.
25. *Ibid.*, No. 486.
26. 166 of 1924.
27. 113 of 1922.
28. *SII.*, vol. Nos. 550, 551 and XVI, No. 987.
29. *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, No. 485 and 486 ; 166, 164, 180, 152, 156, 153, 183 of 1924 ; 160, 171 of 1922.
30. *T.T.D.I.*, vol. I, Nos. 2, 5, 9.
31. *SII.*, vol. VIII, No. 496.
32. *Ibid.*, IV, No. 649.
33. *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, No. 495.

13. RE-EXAMINATION OF A FEW TAX TERMS

C. A. Padmanabha Sastry

The richness of any country depends upon the economic front besides its political stability. A good number of works on Andhra History has been published concentrating on political field rather than on other aspects like Administration, Society, Revenue, etc., No authentic work on the taxation has been taken up seriously by any scholars. The epigraphs, both lithic and copper plates of Andhra furnishes a lot of information on the various types of tax terms. Besides the epigraphical sources, the literary sources of Andhra right from *Āndhra Mahābhāratamu,Kumāra Saṁbhavamu* down to the lexicon *Sūryarāyaṁdhara nighaṁṭu* help us to know the various tax terms. A comprehensive list on the taxes based on epigraphs and literature is being prepared by this author. An attempt is made in this paper to analyse the probable derivations of a few tax terms based on the literature and traditions. We come across these following terms very rarely in the Telugu inscriptions.

1. *Ayirēni (Ayirāni) - rūka* :- The Nādeṇḍla inscription[1] (Śaka 1061 = 1139A.D.) of Manma Maṇḍarāja, the subordinate of Kulōttuṅga Chōḍa (Gonka III) refers to this term in connection with the income of the temple on the occasion of marriages. The text reads :

> *Nādiṁḍlam be(pe)mḍli sēsinavāru koḍuku vāru gadyāṇamu (naḍuvuna) Ayirāni rūkānu vidyāmaṁtulu(ku) pujāri (ki)kha 3 naṭṭuvula Dāḍapōju Malle kha . . . . .*

Both the parties who perform the marriage necessarly have to pay the *ayirāni rūka* probably for *vidyamantulu*, 3 *kha* to pujāri, 6 *kha* to Naṭṭuvulu Dāḍapōju . . . .

The scholars[2] who did research on the economic aspects of the history of this region have taken the term *ayirāni-rūka* as a tax paid to the temple authorities on the occasion of marriages. It is true and also a fact that the temples used to collect the marriage taxes *(peṇḍli suṅkamu)* from the performers. But they did not know the implication or care to know the actual meaning of the term *ayirāni-rūka*. The Telugu literature of the historical period refers to the term *ayirāni, ayirēni, Irēni*. Chēmakura Veṅkaṭakavi, the court poet of Tañjāvūr Nāyaks and the author of *Vijaya Vilāsamu*[3] mentions the term *ayirāni* and describes the pots carried by the women folk on their heads on auspicious days. It reads.

> *Irēni gonivachhir = iduval pāṭalu paḍuchu subhavēla* i.e. the women folk bringing the *Irēnis* and singing songs on auspicious occassions.

Kūchimanchi Timmakavi, (18th century)[4] the author of *Achha Tenugu Rāmāyaṇam* refers to this term on the same occasion

> *Rikkarāyaḍu damimīri rēvaladi beṁḍli-yagunani Kaḍiyamu pēraṁṭālu monasi yairēni nīṭiki muṁchi pasiḍi kuṁḍa yana brōddalu munnīṭi gruṁkēnamta . . . .*

Kōṭi Venkanāryya also furnishes the meaning of the term *ayirēni* or *ayirāni* as colourful pots in his lexicon called *Āndhrabhāshābhūshaṇamu*. Another Telugu lexicon called *Sūryarāyaṁdhara Nighaṁṭu*[10] gives the meaning for term *Ayirēni* or *Irēni* as beautifully decorated pots kept in the marriages. These pots are generally prepared by the *bachhus*. The *Andhra Kriya Svarūpamu* explains the term Bachhu as the professionals whose duty is to colour the pots. The term *ayirāni* or *ayirēni* of our inscription must be taken as beautifully decorated pots generally kept in the dias of the marriage festivals. *Ayirēnirūka* or *Ayirāni-rūka* mentioned in this inscription must be taken as beautifully decorated pots generally kept in the dias on marriage festivals. *Ayirēni rūka* or *Ayirāni-rūka* mentioned in this inscription must be taken as a remuneration paid to the makers of pots and not as tax as described by the earlier scholars. It is also interesting to note that the *ayirēni-rūka* was paid to the *vidyāmantulu*. Here *vidyāmantulu* can be taken as an expert in the art of *ayirēni* or *Irēni* pots.

Ohari :- A few inscriptions of Āndhra country mentions the term *Oharu* in connection with taxes. The Pillalamaṟṟi inscription (Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh) dated 1195 A.D. refers to this term twice in relation with the land grants to the temples of Nāmēśvaradēva and Śri Kāmēśvaradēva. The text reads :

Nāgulapāṭi Viśvanātha samudramu naṁdu Nāmireḍḍi irugāruṁ bandan=obari lēkuṁḍānun=ichhina maṟutalu enimidi । Aṁda Viśvanāthayyakuṁ bunyamugān=imgāruma baṁdan=obari lēkuṁḍān=obari lēkuṁḍān=ichhina maṟutulu reṁḍu - lines 39 to 42).

G. Ramakrishna Sarma, M. Rama Rao and Y. Gopala Readdy[3] mentions this term as *noharu* on the basis of faulty version of the published text and the last two scholars have taken this term ignoring Telugu grammar in analysing this. Unfortunately the late lamented epigraphist Dr. N. Venkataramanaiah and also P.V. Parabrahma Sastry did not refer to this term in their works.

In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the scholars to the Peddavaḍugūru inscription (7th century A.D.) of Satyāśraya re-edited by Dr. K.V. Ramesh, The revised text reads:

Nāḍanūra mahājanamān = Karedu nimuṁ . nimag - appaohariyim = endu bēḍi doḍe ——— and is translated as "you too pay up the gold tax from you" (line 7 to 8). While explaining the term *ohari* he states " of lexical interest is the word *ohari* (line 7) which, from the context in which it occurs must be taken to stand for the tax in the form of gold which is referred to in lines 6-7, as *teṟepon*. It may be reasonably presumed that the *ohari* is the colloquial Kannaḍa *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *upari*. The transformation of initial *u* to *o* and that of *pa* to *ha* are in accordance with the known rules of Dravidian philology and he equated the term *ohari* to gold-tax (teṟepon). I would like to read the text as follows.

. . . nimuṁ nimag = appa ohari [a]yam = endu beḍidode Gōlimaḍuvara Sāntappa āūra śarvva pā(bā)da(dhā) . . . . i.e. the *mahājan as* of Nāḍanūru were summoned and told "you too pay the tax *ohari* and

(ā)yaṁ due from you" . . and not gold tax as mentioned by K. V. Ramesh. We understand the word *ohari* is derived from the word *upari* from the above context. We come across the terms *upari, uparikara* frequently in the inscriptions. According to J. F. Fleet[4] the word *uparikara* is derived from the term *upari* or *upri* and means 'a tax levied from the cultivators who had no properity rights in the soil'. If this derivation is accepted, the term *ohari* or *oharu* in Telugu means the removal of *ohari* or *oharu (ohari lekumḍānu chēsi)*. It suggests that the cultivators though they had no property right in the soil are supposed to pay the tax probably for the period of lease. It shows that a rigid system was followed in collecting the taxes during the Kākatīya period. In this connection mention may be made to certain taxes in this period like *Mānisi-sunkamu, (puṭṭu)pēru sunkamu* (?), *Veṭṭi sunkamu* etc.

Piṇḍikādravyam – We find this term in the two inscriptions from Pushpa giri of Cuddapah District of Andhra Pradesh[12]. The first one is the dated in the Śaka year 1182, Raudri, Phālguṇa, ba. 10, Friday (1261 A.D., February 25) referring to the sale deed between the two parties. It states that Īśvarajiyya, Eṟasāni, Būya and others sold their shares derived from different *vṛittis*, wells, lands, villages and also *Piṇḍikādravya* which consists of 100 *gadyāṇas* in total with the consent of Pedda Mallijiyya, and in the presence of Paṁchamaṭhasthānam to Baṭṭebayyejiyya, Dēvappa and Mahēśvara. Another inscription from the same place, dated Śaka 1225, Sōbhakṛit, Śrāvaṇa, śukla, 10, Friday (1302 A.D., August 3) is also referring to another sale deed. It registers the sale of one-fifth share of the total income derived from the Indrēśvara temple, Sōmanātha temple, lands (situated) at Kottūru and *Piṇḍikādravyamu* which are enjoyed by the donee's family since generations, for three hundred and twenty *paṇas* by the donee Dēvapayya, son of Aṁnnāmalajiyya, the *sthānāpati* of Indrēśvara temple. The term *Piṇḍikādravyamu* is more important for study and the editor of the volume did not make any detailed study of this term. We come across the term *Piṇḍikara* in the Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra[13], where it is described as a collective tax under the *rāṣṭra* (country). Bhaṭṭasvāmi, the commentator of Artha Sāstra explains it as a tax levied from the whole village. Taking these two explanations into consideration we can presume that the term *Piṇḍikara* refers to a collective lump assessment made upon the entire village. It is interesting to note that neither this term nor similar term is mentioned in any other sources, which indicates the 'absence of collective assessment of any tax on an entire village'. We do not come across the word *Piṇḍikādravya* in any of the inscriptions of early or later period. The second inscription mentions the phrase "*tāta muttātala taramunuṇḍi*" which means since generations. Of the two units of the term *piṇḍikara*, the second unit *kara* is a tax and *piṇḍika* suggests that it must be tax or an assesement supposed to have been collected from the particular family, as they enjoyed this previlege from generations together.

A comprehensive list of tax terms and their probable derivations with reference to the contents of the concerned epigraphs and on the basis of literary sources is most welcome. In addition to

this, a comparative and contemporary analysis with the epigraphs of different regions will enrich our knowledge on the subject.

Notes :

1. G. Ramakrishna Sarma (ed) ; Telingāna śāsanamulu (Tel). vol. II, Kākatīya śāsanamulu No. 7.
2. *JAH.*
3. K. V. Ramesh (ed) ; Epigraphica Indica, vol. XXXIX, p. 226.
4. *C.I.I.*, vol. III, p. 98.
5. *S.I.I.*, vol. X.
6. M. Krishnakumari ; *The Chalukya-Chōḷa.*
7. Chemakura Venkatakavi ; Vijaya Vilāsam.
8. Kuchimanchi Timmakavi ; Achha Tenagurāmāyaṇamu.
9. Koti Venkanarya ; Andhra Bhashabhesh.
10. Sūryarāyandhara Nighaṇtu.
11. G. N. Reddy ; Andhra Kriyā palasvarūpam.
12. P.V.P. Sastry, Cuddapah In., vol. I.
13. Artha Śāstra.

14. A NEWLY DISCOVERED BODHISATTVA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURA, YEAR 73

A. K. Singh

This inscription is a new discovery, the photograph of which has been supplied by the Director, Government Museum, Mathurā to Dr. T. P. Varma, Reader in the department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

The inscription is carved on the pedestal of a *bōdhisattva* image. But now the main image of *bōdhisattva* is lost and only the pedestal is in the collection of Mathurā Museum (Accession Number 89–2). The central part of the pedestal depicts *dharmachakra* which is flanked by two worshippers. Both the worshippers bear the flower in their left hands and lotus flower with stalk in their right hands. The rectangular design on the peculiar type of upper garments shows the Scythian influence. The pedestal is in the form of a *siṁhāsana* (lion-pedestal) supported by two lions.

The epigraph in three lines is in a perfect state of preservation, except the two *aksharas*, which are partially cut away at the end of the first line. The characters used belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the Kushāṇa period. The *anusvāra* is shown by a short line instead of a dot. The *aksharas sha*, *sa* and *ha* are in western style of Kushāṇa alphabet; *ma* is of triangular variety; *ya* is of tripartite variety but the ligature is of bipartite type. Medial signs are as usual in the Kushāṇa inscriptions. The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit.

The first line of the inscription begins with the date. The *akshara saṁ*, which is an abbreviated form of the word *saṁvatsarē* is followed by the symbol for 70 (+) 3 and *hē* (i. e. *hēmanta*) 4 *di* (i. e. *divasē*) 25th. The actual date of the inscription is therefore 25th day in the 4th month of the winter season in the year 73 (of the Kanishka era). As the season in question followed the fullmoon day of the month of Kārttika and lasted for four months till the fullmoon of Phālguṇa, the fourth month of it corresponded to the month of Phālguṇa (February–March). Thus the date of the inscription is 25th day of Phālguṇa in the year 73 which falls in 151 A.D. (if it is accepted as Śaka era when Vāsudēva was the Kushāṇa king.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of an image of *bōdhisattva*, a gift of the monk Vinayadhara Saṁndhika, in Muja-vihāra. Vinayadhara denotes a master of the Vinaya texts who has learnt them by heart.[1] Muja (=Muñja) is "a species of rush or sedge-like grass, Saccharum Sara or Muñja (which grows to the height of 10 feet, and is used in basket work)"[2]. If this meaning of the word Muja is accepted it can be said that there was a *vihāra* of Muñja or basket-workers.

Vihāra is a monastery or a residential building for the Buddhist mendicants. It is one of five kinds of lodging (*senāsanāni)* allowed by Buddha for the residence of the monks. The others are *Aḍḍhayoga*, *Pāsāda*, *Hammiya* and *Guhā* (*Chullavagga*, p. 259).[3] A *vihāra* may be constructed for

the personal use or for the use of whole *saṁgha* To construct a Mahallaka-vihāra for an individual monk, the desirous monk must get the proposed site 'examined' *(vatthu-olokan)* and the formal approval of the *saṅgha* must be obtained. If such a *vihāra* is constructed without the *vatthu-desanā* of the *saṅgha*, an offence of saṅghādisesa is committed (Rule No. 7, para, p. 233)[4]. And as for the location of a *vihāra*, it is said that the most suitable place is that which is neither very far from the village or *nigama* or town nor too close.[5]

Besides Muja-vihāra, a number of *vihāras* are known from Mathurā inscriptions. They are Ālānaka-vihāra[6], Amohāāsī-vihāra[7], Chutaka - vihāra[8], Dhānyavarma - vihāra[9], Gunda - vihāra[10], Kakaṭikasa - vihāra,[11] Kashṭikīya - vihāra[12], *Mahārāja da(de) vaputra* - vihāra[13] or *Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* Huvishka-vihāra[14], Prāvārika-vihāra[15], Rośika-vihāra[16], Sakka-vihāra[17], Śiri-vihāra[18], Suvanakāra-vihāra[19], Ūttara Hārusha-vihāra,[20] Yaśā-vihāra,[21] and some other *vihāras*[22] which may not be specified due to the breakage in the concerned inscriptions.

A study of the *vihāras* of Mathurā shows that they bear either the name of their founder member or the name of their occupations. Chutaka-vihāra was probably a *vihāra* of mango traders while Kashṭikīya-vihāra seems to be related with timber merchants. Prāvārika-vihāra belonged to cloak-makers and Suvanakāra-vihāra is apparently a *vihāra* of goldsmiths. Plausibly, Muja-vihāra was related to the Muñja or basket-workers. The appelation of other *vihāras* are sometimes due to the concerned person. It is evident in the nomenclature of Yaśā-vihāra. The name of Yaśā is found in another Mathurā inscription[23] which denotes the possibility that the Yaśa-vihāra was founded by a lady named Yaśā. As for Ūttara Hārusha-vihāra, it seems that Hārusha is a foreign name and it leads the possibility of a *vihāra* founded by a foreigner at Mathurā. Such type of *vihāras* are founded by commoners as well as even by elite persons like *Mahārāja rājātirāja dēva-putra* Huvishka.

On the basis of the find spot and a few references mentioned in inscriptions the locality of some *vihāras* may be decided. An inscription from Kaṭrā mound mentions that by Amohāāsī, the mother of Buddha-rakhitā, a *bōdhisattva* image was set up together with her parents in her own *vihāra*. On palaeographical grounds the date of this inscription may be fixed in the first half of the second century A.D. Another *vihāra* known from the same place is Yaśa-vihāra in which a pious gift (of Buddha image) was made by Śākya nun Jayabhaṭṭā in the year 280 (of Gupta era, i.e. A.D. 599-600). At Jamālpur mound a *vihāra* of *Mahārāja dēvaputra* or *Mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra* Huvishka was situated during the year 51 and 77 of Kanishka era. In the year 51, an image of the holy Śākyamuni was set up by the monk Buddha-varman while in the year 77 a pillar was gifted by the monk Jīvaka, the Oḍiyanaka (native from Uḍḍiyāna). Another inscription from Jamālpur mound refers that the cooking stone of the Kakaṭikas is fixed in their *vihāra* at Śrikuṇḍa in some park the name of which is lost. But it is certain that the *vihāra* of Kakaṭikas was situated close to the *vihāra* of Huvishka. Some of the *vihāras* are known from Mathurā city.

Prāvārika-vihāra is known from an inscription of year 22 from Mathurā city, Chutaka-vihāra is known from Mātā-gate inscription, Suvanakāra-vihāra from Jamunā-Bāgha inscription, Śiri-vihāra from Gau-Ghāṭa well inscription and Ālānaka-vihāra from Bharatpur gate inscription. A Mathurā inscription of year 45 mentions that Rośika-vihāra was situated at Āḷika in which an image of Śākyamuni was set up by the female lay-worshipper Khavasicha. Dhānya-varma-vihāra was located somewhere in Kaṅkālī-Ṭilā. Ūttara Hārusha-vihāra was situated at Anyor and Guhā-vihāra at Sonkh. Another *vihāra* was situated at Naugavā the name of which is lost. The find-spot of some inscriptions are unknown which creates a problem in identifying the locality of some of the *vihāras*. Among such *vihāras* the names of Kashṭikīya-vihāra ; Sakka-vihāra, and also of Muja-vihāra, known from the present inscription, may be mentioned.

The Mathurā inscriptions record the dedication of objects at some Buddhist *vihāras* for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghikas which shows the popularity of the school in the region during the time of the Kushāṇas. In Chutaka-vihāra there was a set up for the Mahāsāṅghikas while something was dedicated at the Ālānaka-vihāra for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghikas. In Suvanakāra-vihāra a gift was made for the acceptance of the Mahopadesaka, the great teacher. An image of Bōdhisattva was set up at the Śiri-vihāra for the acceptance of the Samitiya teacher. In other *vihāras* the installation of an image or a donation was made for the worship of all Buddhas and/or for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

The name of Muja-vihāra is not known from any other sources. However, Kaṅkālī-Ṭilā inscription of year 7 mentions one Ārya-Sandhika[24]. But there he is called only a preacher while the donor of the present *bōdhisattva* image was the monk Vinayadhara Saṁndhika. The relation between the two is not known.

TEXT[25]

1. Saṁ 70 [+]3 he 4 di 20 [+]5 etasyāṁ purvvāyāṁ bhikshusya Vinayadharasya Saṁndhikasya d[ānaṁ]
2. bodhisatva pratimā pra-
3. tishṭhāpitā Muja-vihār[e]

TRANSLATION

On the 25th day of the 4th (month) of winter, in the year 73, on this occasion as specified, (this) image of *bodhisattvva*, a gift of the monk Vinayadhara Saṁndhika, was installed in Muja-vihāra.

Notes :

1. Sircar, D. C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Motilal Banarasidass, 1966, p. 374.
2. Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Oxford 1963 (1889) p. 821.
3. Upasak, C. S., *Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms*, Varanasi, 1975, p. 206.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Janert, Klaus L and *H. Luders* : *Mathura Inscriptions*, Gottingen, 1961, p. 121, No. 86.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31, No. 1.
8. Sahni, Daya Ram, "Seven Inscriptions from Mathurā" *EI.*, vol. XIX, pp. 68–69, No. VII.
9. Iyer, S. Subramonia, "Mathurā inscription of Huvishka, year 50 *JESI.*, vol. X, p. 72.
10. Janert, *op. cit.*, p. 172, No. 136.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-102, No. 65.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 191–92, No. 157.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65, No. 29.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 68, No. 31.
15. Sahni, *op. cit.* p. 66, No. 1.
16. Janert, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-6, No. 180.
17. Sircar, D. C. "Brāhmī Inscription from Mathurā, "*EI.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 10, No. 1.
18. Sahni, *op. cit.*, p. 67, No. V.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 67–68, No. VI.
20. Janert, *op. cit.*, p. 171, No. 135.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 34–35, No. 8.
22. The Mathurā inscription of year 8 (*ibid.*, pp. 189-90, No. 154) refers to a *vihāra* but due to the loss of some letters in the inscription only the name-*hakiya*, *vihāre* may be read in the begining of 2nd line. Likewise, the fragmentary Naugavā inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 160-61, No. 121) does not mention the name of *vihāra*.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-46, No. 14.
24. Luders, H., "Brāhmī Inscriptions from the earliest time to about A D. 400," *EI.*, vol. X. Appendix, p. 4, No. 21.
25. From the photograph.

15. KALAMALA INSCRIPTION OF RASHTRAKUTA KRISHNA III

D. M. Nagaraju

This paper is on an inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kannaradēva from the village Kalamala[1] in Raichur Taluk and District of Karnataka. It is engraved on a slab set up in front of the present Bhōgēśvara temple in the village.

The language and the script of the record is Kannaḍa. On palaeographical grounds, the record may be assigned to circa 10th century A D.

Regarding orthography of the inscription, we may note here that distinction has been made in respect of the short and long *ī*. The use of *ḷa* instead of the customary *ḷ* in the word *aḷevud* in line no. 15 is interesting. In some places the use of *sa* for *śa*, is note worthy as in words like *Dēvarāsi* in line no. 16, *aṁkusa* in line no. 8, *paramēsvara* in like no. 4. In the word *namaśya* in line no. 14, instead of *sa*, *śa* has been used. A number of orthographical errors are seen in this record. The present record is dated Śaka 861 (in words) Hēmaḷambi. It refers to the reign of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kannaradēva (Kṛishṇa III) and registers the gift of 34 *mattaras* of land measured by *rājamāna* to the deity Mallikārjunadēva by Chuṭṭarasaru and Piṭṭabbe, on the occassion of *Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*. The gift appears to have been entrusted to Kalamalājādiṭya-bhaṭara. The record also mentions Dēvarāśi-bhaṭara and Ga[ṁ]ggarāchyaya.

The importance of the record lies in the date portion. The Śaka year 861 corresponds to the cyclic year Vikārin. The cyclic year Hēmaḷambi given falls in Śaka 859. The earliest known date for Kṛishṇa III is Śaka 861, Vikārin. The Kakkarasi inscription[2] of Kṛishṇa III and the Īśāmudra inscription[3] of Baddega (Amōghavarsha III) are also dated Śaka 861, Vikārin. The date of the two records corresponds to 939 A.D., 23rd December. It is quite likely that the date of our record approximately corresponds to 939 A.D., 23rd December, if the cyclic year is corrected as Vikarin instead of Hēmaḷambi. In all the records discussed above the Uttarāyaṇa–saṁkramaṇa quoted cannot be ignored. Kielhorn has suggested that in several instances where Uttarāyaṇa–saṁkramaṇa is wrongly quoted, other details are given correctly. In the record under discussion except the cyclic year, the other details are given correctly. N. L. Rao the editor of Kolagallu inscription[4] of Khoṭṭiga dated Śaka 889 has ruled out the possibility of the joint rule of Baddega (Amōghavarsha III) and his son Kṛishṇa III. Both in the Karhāḍ plates and in the present inscription, Kṛishṇa is credited with the title *mahārājādhirāja, paramēśvara*, etc., showing his imperial status. On the basis of Karhāḍ and Deoli plates, it may be suggested that Kṛishṇa III was on the throne sometime before December 939 A.D.[5] But the exact date of his accession is still not clear. If the date of the Īśāmudra inscription is taken as correct, it may be said that Kṛishṇa's father was alive till the above date. At the most we may not be wrong, if we suggest that Kṛishṇa III could establish his authority even when his father was alive, for reasons not known. The name of the chief Chuṭṭarasa is

probably a mistake for Chaṭṭarasa. The identification of Chaṭṭarasa the donor of the present record is interesting. The Kakkarasi inscription and our record mention a certain Chaṭṭarasa as subordinate of Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa III. Since the date of both the records agree with each other, the Chaṭṭarasa of the record under review may be identified with his namesake figuring in the Kakkarasi record. The donee Āditya-bhaṭāra hails from the place Kalmala, the find spot of the record.

TEXT[6]

1. Svasti Śaka-nṛipa Kālātthi(tī)ta saṁvatsara-
2. sa(śa)taṁgaḷ-eṇṭunūṟ-aṟuvatt-ondanēyaṁ Hēmalaṁ(ḷaṁ)bi saṁ-
3. vatsaraṁ pravathi(rtti)suttire[l]Svasti śrī pṛithivīvallabha mahā-
4. rājādhirāja-paramēsva(śva)ra-paramabhaṭṭāraka rājyābhivṛi-
5. bda[ddhi] uttar-ōttaram-āchandra tāraṁbaraṁ saluttire Rāṭṭa-kul-ānvayā(a)-
6. doḷ-ānevedaṅga-madagajamalla śrīmat-Kannaradēva sukha-
7. di[ṁ] rājyam geyyuttire svasti samadhigata pañcha-mahāśabda mā(ma)hāsā-
8. manta viśishṭa janavatsaḷa vīrabhūrī-śravana(ṇa)-hita-bhadrā[ṁ*]kusa(śa) drōha-kālānaḷa
9. samara-dhana[ṁ*]jaya-keḷegoḷḷi-keydana nimitya parōpakāri
10. pusigitallaḷipa chāḷukya-pañchānana paḍōṇ-oḍogaṇḍa śrī
11. mat Chu(Cha)ṭṭarasaruṁ Piṭṭabbeyya Kannaradēvan uttarāyaṇa-sa[ṁ*]krā-
12. ntiyoḷ Mallikārjunadēva ga[7]ṇapōdalli dēvar-abhi-
13. mukhadim Chuṭṭarasaru Kalmalāyāditya bhaṭāraṅge mahāja[na*]vaṅga[8]
14. koṭṭa keyya 34 matta[ṛ*] rājamāna [Sarva*]namaśya (sya)
15. naḷe(ḍe)vud-ī-sthitiyan-a[ḷḷ]adu koṇḍa tāliṁgiya bāra-
16. ṇasivan naḷidō Dēvarāsi(śi)-bha-
17. ṭāra paḍede Ga[ṁ]ggarāchyaya koṭṭaṁ

Notes :

I am deeply indebted to the Director (Epigraphy), Chief Epigraphist who have encouraged me to edit the unpublished inscription copied from Kalamala. Dr. M. D. Sampath, Suptdg. Epigraphist guided me in the preparation of this paper.

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1987–88.
2. *Ep., Carnatica.* vol. VIII. Sb. 476.
3. *Ibid.*, vol. XI, No. 76.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, p. 262.
5. A. S. Altekar — *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their times,* ch. VI,p. 115.
6. From impressions.
7. '*ga*' is written above the line.
8. The letters *vaṅge* is written below the word *Mahāja[*na]*.

16. KAVERIPPAKKAM INSCRIPTIONS — A STUDY

V. N. Srinivasa Desikan

Kāvērippākkam, situated on the Madras-Bangalore Road, is about 100 Km. from Madras and 30 Km. from the temple-town of Kāñchīpuram and is in the Arakonam taluk of North Arcot District in Tamil Nadu. It was the centre of great artistic activity a thousand years ago. It was a flourishing settlement during the Pallava and and later times.

Thirty-seven inscriptions belonging to different dynasties have been noticed at Kāvērippākkam and these belong to the Pallavas, the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and Vijayanagara rulers. Most of them are fragmentary but still they provide a good deal of information on the different aspects of administration, social, economic and cultural life of the people in this part of the region. These inscriptions are mainly found in the temples of Kongaṇēśvara, Muktīśvara, Varadarājaperumāḷ and Sundaravaradaperumāḷ, besides a few at the tank bund and P.W.D. Bungalow at Kāvērippākkam.

A striking feature of the administration that is noticeable in these inscriptions is that by and large the local assembly (*sabhā*) looked after the affairs of the village including the temple. This particular phenomenon is keeping with the general pattern of village administration that prevailed in Tamil Nadu, right from the days of the Pallavas and became important during the Chōḷa times. The village administration conducted by the village assemblies and through *Vāriyams* is known to us, from the Pallava inscriptions found in the places like Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Bāhūr, Ukkal etc. Examples of similar well organised village assemblies of the Chōḷa times have come down from places like Uttiramērūr, Brahmadēśam etc. Viewed against this background it is not surprising that in Kāvērippākkam also the affairs of the village are taken care of, by the local assemblies (*sabhā*).

The king normally did not interfere in the local administration conducted by the local assemblies. In fact the assemblies were left to themselves in the administration and were free to make arrangements in the best possible manner. But the king used to issue orders on specific subjects through his officers like the one referred to an inscription from Kāvērippākkam. In this inscription it is stated that the king Āditya I (896 A.D.) has sent a communication to the *sabhā* of Kāvērippākkam through the officer Vēmbaikuḍināṭṭu Vēḷār, banning the employment of ladies for some specific occasions like Saṅkrānti, full moon and the new moon days in the temple[1].

Titles : The inscriptions refer to various titles borne by the kings who ruled over this part of the region. The Pallava kings had many titles known from inscriptions. The earliest inscription is that of Nandivarman III which is only a fragment. But the name of the village in the inscription is Avaninārāyaṇa Chaturvētimaṅgalam after the surname of Nandivarman III whose title is Avaninārāyaṇa known from *Nandikalambakam*. From an inscription of ninth

century A.D. it is known that a merchant, during the time of Nandivarman III had been to Thailand and was responsible for digging a tank called Śrī Avaninārāṇam. This inscription testifies the close commercial relations between South East Asian countries and Pallava kingdom during the period of Nandivarman III. The naming of the tank in Thailand and the surname of Kāvērippākkam as Avaninārāyaṇa Chaturvēdimaṅgalam shows clearly that they are after the titles of Nandivarman III[2]. Presumably this king (Nandivarman III) made Kāvērippākkam as a *brahmadēya* village and established a Chaturvēdimaṅgalam as Avaninārāyaṇa-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam. This is evidenced by the expression in the inscription as *Kāvērippākkam alias-Avaninārāyaṇa* Chaturvēdimaṅgalam. The title *viḍēl viḍugu* of Nandivarman III mentioned in *Nandikalambakam* finds a place in the inscription from Kāvērippākkam[3].

Administrative Units : Kāvērippākkam came under Paḍuvūrkōṭṭam from the Pallava time down to Vijayanagara time. It may be seen that the village continued to be at the same administrative unit without any break. This shows that the traditional administrative units were not altered frequently but kept up, by the successive dynasties.

Local Administration : In India the one political institution that has survived revolutions, changes of empire, ravages of time and the influence of alien domination is local government.[4] Though the system of local administration is seen in its best in the Chōḷa administration it had its roots in the earlier times and developed in the later Pallava times.[5] These local institutions (*sabhas*) figure largely in the Pallava inscriptions and this organisation has had a long history of its own and "it was more indigenous character.[6]

Local Assemblies : The inscriptions refer to different surnames of the village Kāvērippākkam as Avaninārāyaṇa Chaturvēdimaṅgalam[7], Vijayagaṇḍa Gōpāla Chaturvēdimaṅgalam[8] and Vikramachōḷa Chaturvēdimaṅgalam[9] in the Pallava, Chōḷa and the Vijayanagara inscriptions.

The *sabhā* usually used to meet in public places like under a tree or on the bank of a tank or in temple halls. But there is an instance of *Mahā-sabhā* of Kāvērippākkam having met once in the shrine of goddess (*kāmakkōṭṭam*) and transacted the business.[10]

For maintaining effective administration the *sabhā* created smaller committees for a definite function and these small committees are known as *Vāriyams*. The names of such several committees as *ūrvāriyam, Udāsīna vāriyam, Ponvāriyam, Kaḻanivāriyam* and *Śrīkōyilvāriyam*. Besides this, the *Ērīvāriyam* which is most important one in the *sabhā* was looking after the maintenance of the tanks and irrigation. And the members are called *Ērivārya-perumakkaḷ*. Though the other *vāriyams* have played their respective roles it is the tank committee which has played the prominent part by virtue of its more prestigeous position. Since the tank was the main source of irrigation as well as drinking water facilities, the people had to pay a regular cess for the water used. The committee was actually incharge of collection of revenues and enjoyed certain

privileges and responsibilities. The committee figured in number of transactions indicating its multifarious responsibilities like maintenance of tank, maintenance of worship in the temple etc.

Though the *Ērivāryam* was expected to discharge the duties for the maintenance of the tank and arrangement of water supply, it was entrusted with certain other responsibilities also as seen in the inscriptions mentioned below. An inscription (fragment) from Kāvērippākkam of a certain king whose title is Parakēsari in 10th year, records a taxfree gift of a land to the temple of Tiruvākīśvara and this was left in charge of the tank committee (*Ēri vāriyam*) of the village assembly.[11] From an inscription from a neighbouring village we come to know that the *Mahā sabhā* of Kāvērippākkam deputed their annual tank supervision committee and the headman to make supply of a fixed quantity of rice for offerings and oil for a perpetual lamp at the temple of Tirukarapurattuperumānaḍigaḷ at Kāvērippākkam.[12] Yet another inscription assignable to tenth century A.D. on grounds of palaeography refers to an undertaking given by *ērivāriyam* in respect of a lamp to god Śrī Vaikuṇṭhatuperumānaḍigaḷ, whose image was set up by Śrī Mayidrakumārabhaṭṭan.[13]

Social and Cultural life : It has been rightly observed : "Like the functioning of temples, construction of tanks, provisions made for the requirements of various shrines, the opening of educational institutions with competent teachers in various branches, erection of houses for the poor and the learned and provision made for doctors and hospitals to minister the needs of the sick, furthering of the cause of the study of the Vēdas and śāstras, was considered as meritorious act by South Indian kings and chiefs and it found a tangible expression in the form of Chaturvēdimaṅgalams, *brahmadēyas, agaras, agrahāras* and the like.[14] A perusal of the names of the brahmaṇa settlers from the inscriptions at Kāvērippākkam which is a Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, indicates that they belonged to different *gōtras* and also to different places. The titles like *Kramavittan* and *saḍaṅgaviyar* indicate the extent of scholarship of the brāhmaṇas. The term *Kramavittan* refers to those brāhmaṇas well versed in the *karma* method of reciting the Vēdas. The term *saḍaṅgaviyar* refers to the brāhmaṇas well versed in six aṅgas : *śiksha, chchanda, vyākaraṇa, nirukta, jyōtisha,* and *kalpa.* The *gōtras* mentioned are : *Bhāradvāja, Vasishṭa, Kauśika, Kāśyapa, Viśvāmitra etc,* The places from where these brāhmaṇas hailed were : Guntur, Tirukaḍaiyūr, Kurukkai etc. The names of individual having the title of *Kramavittar Appuḍikramavittar, Mahāsēnakramavittar, Madambuḍikramavittar* etc.

An interesting inscription of Nṛipatuṅgavarman (894 A.D.) from Kāvērippākkam records as agreement by *sabhā* for supply of one *Uḷakku* of oil everyday to a *maṭha.*[15] The *sāttaperumakkaḷ* referred in an inscription were probably the governing body of a *maṭha.* The term *Maḍatu sāttaperumakkaḷ* in the inscription means that they were highly learned scholars who lived in the *maṭha* devoted to teaching. It may be pointed out that for imparting training to youngmen the *maṭhas* played a vital part while the *Paḷḷis* of the Jainas and the *Vihāras* of the Buddhists played a vital role similarly.

The merchant community has close association with the welfare of the temple in their places. The earliest reference to Śeṭṭi in our inscriptions comes from Kāvērippākkam.[16]. The record refers to the gift of 90 sheep for burning a lamp in the temple of Kīrtimārttāṇḍa Kāḷapriya. The donor was one Sambakkan son of Pāṇḍiparamkumara Śeṭṭi, a merchant of the market of the village Kīrtimārttāṇḍa-kāḷapriya. The name kāḷapriya recalls to us the same name of the deity for whom the Rāshṭrakūṭā Kṛishṇa III is stated to have built a temple and the name Kīrti-mārttāṇḍa recalls to us the title Kīrti-mārttāṇḍa borne by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. Probably the market must have come to existence in the days of above king and named after him.

An inscription of Mallikārjuna,[17] (1455 A.D.) from Kāvērippākkam records an agreement by the merchants (*vaiśya vāṇiyanagarattār*) to set apart a portion from their contribution on the occasion of the marriages. In the marriages there were customary practices of contributing money known as *Kalyāṇapaṇam, maṇai-yettapaṇam, Kaiviḍumōdirapaṇam* etc. These are the occasions during which close relatives offered contributions. By this agreement for every 10 *paṇam*, three *paṇams* (*pattukku mūṇḍru paṇam*) are set apart for the temple. Such contributions are used for performing various festivals in the temple of Kēśavaperumāḷ at Kāvērippākkam. The temple belonged to the *nagarattār* community. The gift is known as *Dharma-davala abhayadāna* The terms *davala* means a camp of the merchant guilds and perhaps there was a camping place near Kāvērippākkam for the merchant community.

Manṟāḍis : The cowherds who are known as *manṟāḍis,* constituted an important section of the population in the village. Their main avocation was tending the cattle, supply of milk, ghee and other milk products to the temple. An inscription of Parāntaka II Sundara Chōḷa (963 A.D.) mentions the gift of 90 sheep to different shepherds, who were expected to provide lamp service in the temple of Kīrtimārtāṇḍa Kāḷapriyadēva[18]. The name of the shepherds given in the inscription are : Kaṇṇantai *alias* Ēlunūṟṟuvan Maṇṟāḍi ; Kōnulāṉ *alias* Sahadēvaṉ ; Nallulan *alias* Ainūṟṟuvaṉ Maṇṟāḍi ; Kadambantai *alias* Nambaṉ ; Pālakan *alias* Milaṉ ; Kumaranttai *alias* bhaṭṭan ; and Kōṇuḷaṉ *alias* Kavarai Maṇṟāḍi.

The cattle that was given to the temple were usually entrusted with the cowherd community of the village, who maintained it and supplied to the temple the stipulated amount of milk, ghee etc. for the use of the temple. So they were intimately associated with the temples.

Temple administration, festivals and services :

The temple administration became somewhat more systematised in the Chōḷa times. The inscriptions of the Great Temple at Tañjāvūr give us a graphic idea of the various categories of functionaries, their duties, renumeration etc. introduced by Rājarāja I. This became more or less the pattern in many other temples too, but varied in degrees according to the size of the temple, its importance and wealth. One of the main aims was to see that proper

account is kept of the endowments to the temple and the execution of the objectives of the donors in the proper manner. We are also able to see the close relationship between the temple and the village community, who had an abiding love for the temple and tried to be of service to the temple in various ways. The inscriptions of Kāvērippākkam furnish some interesting data on the temple administration, festivals and services.

Śrī bhaṇḍāra is the name given to the temple treasury, and the official in charge of the temple treasury has known as *Śrī-bhaṇḍārattār*. He was in charge of the collection of revenues, gifts in kind and cash and he had the powers for the administration of the temple. In an inscription (dated 1593 A.D.)[19] of Veṅkaṭa 1 a reference to *Tiruppavitrattirunāḷ (pavitrōtsva)* is made and *Śrībhaṇḍāra* was required to spend 20 *paṇams* daily during the festival for which a certain landed property was already given to the temple by an individual. In return *Śrī-bhaṇḍāra* was to honour the donor by providing a *parivaṭṭam* and giving certain quantity of daily offerings to him. Though the inscription is of 1593 A.D., there is a possibility of this office functioning in the temple, in earlier times also. While dealing with the social life of the village, one cannot afford to omit the part played by the temple festivals on important occasions for social and religious gatherings. The temple was an institution dear to the hearts of the people of the locality, and to promote the welfare of the individuals, kings and the community as a whole, numerous *sandhis* or special offerings were made to the temple from time to time. Apart from this there were regular festivals - annual as well as monthly for which individuals as well as royal persons extended their patronage. Festivals attracted people of different castes and communities and contributed to the general welfare among the different sections of the people. Thus the temple played an important role in bringing about a cohesion in the community. The festivals were conducted in the temples at Kāvērippākkam and two such festivals are mentioned in the inscriptions. They are *Tirupavitrōtsvam*[20] and *Sītākalyaṇam*.[21] The *pavitrōtvasam* is conducted mainly for the expiation of the sins of omission and commission arising in the daily worship and other religious rites performed in the temple. Certain lands were granted for the above festival.

Besides the festivals mentioned above, there were special services known as *sandhis* in the name of the kings. Endowments were made for the conduct of these *sandhis*. Mention may be made of *Vikramachōḷa kōnār sandhi* and *Aiyakkidēvar sandhi* both are referred to in the inscriptions from Kāvērippākkam, belonging to the period of Kulōttuṅga III (1189 A.D.).[22] Another inscription of Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya I (1259 A.D.) mentions a *sandhi* known as *Annāḷvi Sundarapāṇḍyan sandhi*.[23] Yet another inscription of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla (1268 A.D.) refers to Saḷukkinārāyaṇan sandhi[24].

Food preparations : The inscriptions do not throw much light or details on the food preparations in the temple. But still some of them are quite interesting since these are mentioned as offerings to god on various occasions.

An inscription of Kulōttuṅga (1189 A.D.) from Kāvērippākkam refers to food offerings daily such as 1) cooked rice *(amudu)* for which *kuruṇi* rice is provided. 2) vegetables *(kariamudu)*, 3) 20 palam of pepper rice etc.[25]

Venkaṭa's inscription (1593 A.D.) while referring to *Tirupavitrattirunāḷ* records that *Oru taḷigi prasādam* and four *paniyārams* (sweet dishes) to be given, as share to the donor. Another inscription assignable to 11th century A.D. records the gift of gold for curd offerings thrice a day and this curd rice is to be prepared with hulled ones *(kuttal ariśi)*.[27]

Economic life : The comparatively limited number of inscriptions and the incomplete nature of some of them do not help us in knowing the economic history of Kāvērippākkam. However with the available materials an attempt is made to have a glimpse of the economic life of the people in this area.

The main stay of the economy was agriculture, as it is even today in the villages. This is clearly reflected in the transactions that are revealed in the inscriptions.

As indicated earlier the presence of a vast irrigation tank (*Kāvērippākkam periya-ēṟi)* as early as the Pallava days facilitated agricultural operations. Canals were dug and lands were irrigated from water drawn from canals. One of the canals bore the name Avaninārāyaṇan vaikkāl probably excavated in the days of Nandivarman III.

Land Tenure systems : Only one kind of system (i.e.) *Eleemosynary tenures* (charitable gift of lands) is known from Kāvērippākkam inscriptions. The common tenures, such as *dēvadāna* (land gifted to the temple), *brahmadēya* (land or village gifted to brāhmaṇas *tiruviḍaiyaṭṭam*[28] (lands endowed to the Vishṇu temple) *(tirunāmattukkāṇi)*[29] (lands gifted to Śiva temples). *Piḍarippaṭṭi*[30] (lands, exempted from taxes, granted to the village goddess Piḍari), *Kuḍinīngātiruviḍa-yāṭṭam*[31] (land or village endowed to Vishṇu temple without evicting the existing tenants and permitting the temple to enjoy the proprietory rights).

Taxes : The names of several taxes are known generally from the epigraphs, which record the exemptions to various institutions and persons from the payment of taxes by the king. They went by the general term *iṟaiyali*. There are numerous instances of the *iṟaiyali* lands being gifted to the temples. Taxes such as *Kaḍamai* (tax to be paid to the Government) and *āyam*[32] (defined as small taxes) are referred to in the inscriptions.

Land Measures : We have references to land measures such as *Kuḷi*, *mā* and *vēli*. *Vēli* was the largest unit of land and also the largest unit of land measure. 2000 *kuḷis* went to make one vēli.[33] The measuring rod (*kōl*) used were known as twelve foot rod. (*pannīraḍikōl*) sixteen foot rod (*padināraḍik-kōl*) any eighteen foot rod (*padineṭṭu-aḍi-kōl*.[34]

Land price : Regarding the price of the land, we have no enough information except the mention of Gaṇḍagōpālanpudi-maḍai. But unfortunately nothing is known about the value or gold content of the coin.

Grain measures : The grain measures used in the temples were : *kalam*, *tūṇi*, *kuṟuṇi* and *nāḷi*. In a fragmentry inscription of 10th Century A.D., the measure of *nāḷi* was called *Rājakēsarināḷi* probably after the donor of the grant (i.e.) *Rājakēsari*.[35]

Liquid Measure : The different units of liquid measure referred to in inscriptions are : *śeviḍu, āḻākku, uḻakku* and *nāḻi* Though *āḻākku* and *uḻakku* are commonly met with in inscriptions the term unit *seviḍu* occurs only one in inscription of Kulōttuṅga III (1189 A.D)[36].

Weights, Measures and Coins : The economic condition of a country is generally reflected in its currency system. Since many of the inscriptions from Kāvērippākkam relate to the gifts of land, gold and other articles we have referencee to the weights such as *kaḻañju, maḍai, mañjāḍi* and *kāśu. Kaḻañju* is defined as a gold coin current in the olden days and also the equivalent weight. In some cases the fineness of the gold is also mentioned such as fifty *kaḻañjus* of gold of 9/2 *māṟi* in fineness. *Māḍai* is defined again as a gold coin current in olden days but the exact equivalent weight was not known.[37] *Mañjāḍi* is known as the interest on *kaḻañju* of gold and it is one-twentieth of a *kaḻañju. Kāśu,* is a term commonly met with in scriptions and is equivalent to four *kaḻañju.* An inscription from Kāvērippākkam mentions *kārttigaikāśu* which is a payment in coin (kāśu) made in the month of Kārttigai (harvest time).[38]

Thus it may be seen that the inscriptions from Kāvērippākkam contain valuable information on several economic aspects, like sources of revenue, expenditure items, land grants and other endowments to temples, functionaries and management, taxation etc. which has been historically assessed now. We also get interesting information on the various communities and the social groups centering round the temple and their cultural and social activities.

Notes :

1. *A.R.I.E.* 400 of 1905 ; *S.I.I.*, vol. XIII, No. 312.

2. C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* Revised Edn, 1977, p. 29.

3. *A.R.I.E.*, 394 of 1905 ; *S.I.I.*, vol. XII, No. 82.

4. T. V. Mahalingam : *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, Madras, 1940 ; p. 206.

5. S. K. Ayyangar : *Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India*, Madras, 1930 p. 94-96.

6. C. Minakshi, *op.cit*, p. 141.

7. *A.R.I.E.*, 404 of 1905 ; *S.I.I.*, vol. XII, No. 67 ; *A.R.I.E.*, 400 of 1905 ; *S.I.I.*, vol. XIII, No. 312 ; *A.R.I.E.*, 401 of 1905 ; *S.I.I.*, vol. XIII, No. 307.

8. *A.R.I.E.*, 389 of 1905.

9. *A.R.I.E.*, 696 of 1904 ; *S.I.I.*, vol. XII, No. 753.

10. *A.R.I.E.*, 400 of 1905 ; *SII.*, vol. XIII, No. 312.

11. *A.R.I.E.*, 407 of 1905 ; *SII.*, vol. XIX, No. 242.

12. *A.R.I.E.*, 690 of 1904 ; *SII.*, vol. XIX, No. 297.

13. *A.R.I.E.*, 395 of 1905

14. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer : *Historical sketches of Dēccan* ,Madras.

15. *A.R.I.E.*, 397 of 1905 ; *SII.*, vol. XII, No. 79.

16. *A.R.I.E.* 382 of 1095 ; *SII.*, vol. XIII, No. 130.

17. *A.R.I.E.*, 383 of 1905

18. *A.R.I.E.*, 382 of 1905 ; *SII.*, vol. XIII, No. 130.

19. *A.R.I.E.*, 385 of 1905.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *A.R.I.E.*, 388 of 1905.

22. *A.R.I.E.*, 405 of 1905.

23. *A.R.I.E.*, 387 of 1905.

24. *A.R.I.E.*, 389 of 1904.

25. *A.R.I.E.*, 405 of 1905.

26. *A.R.I.E.*, 385 of 1905.

27. *A.R.I.E.*, 384 of 1905.

28. *A.R.I.E.*, 386 of 1905.

29. *A.R.I.E.*, 387 of 1905.

30. *A.R.I.E.*, 386 of 1905.

31. *A.R.I.E.*, 389 of 1905.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*

34. *A.R.I.E.*, 390 of 1905.

35. *A.R.I.E.*, 410 of 1905.

36. *A.R.I.E.*, 405 of 1905.

37. *A.R.I.E.*, 700 of 1904 ; S.D.I., vol. XII, 190.

38. *A.R.I.E.*, 415 of 1905.

17. INSCRIPTION ON A THEATRICAL PRACTICE

K. G. Krishnan

Tirunaḷḷāṟu is a village in the Kāraikkāl commune in Pondicherry State. It is famous as an ancient Saivite centre, the lord of the temple being now known as Darbhāraṇyēśvara and called Tirunaḷḷāṟuḍaiyār in the inscriptions. The deity has been honoured by the hymns of the Śaiva saints. But the temple is now more famous for the shrine of Saturn who is considered to be graceful in relieving the devotees from the ill-effects of his transits through their natal constellaion. The planet's entry into each part of the zodiac is celebrated here on a grand scale attracting very large, sometimes, unmanageable crowds.

But the present record (*A.R.Ep*. 1965–66, No. 437) which Dr. Ramesh enabled me to comment, is more concerned with some other aspects of our cultural history, long before Saturn became popular here. It is in Tamil language and script and is dated in the 35th year (i.e. 1053 A.D.) of Rājādhirāja I who is called in the inscription as Vijai[ya] rājēndradēva who capturedKalyāṇapuram and Veḷigrāmam (Baḷigāṁve in Karnataka). The text and the translation are as follows :-

TEXT

1 Svasti Śrī Kaliyāṇapuramum Veḷi-

2 kkirāmamum-koṇḍa Kōvi-rāja-

3 kēsarivarmmar=āna Uḍaiyār Śrī Vi-

4 jairājēndradēvarkku yāṇḍu 3[5]

5 āvadu Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷa-

6 nāṭṭu Muḷaiyūr-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam-Tiru

7 Naḷḷāṟṟu Tirunaḷḷāṟuḍaiyār

8 Śrīkōyilil muṉbu Āriyakkūttuk-

9 kaṉiy-uḍaiya Śrīkaṇḍaṉ Kamban-āṉa-

10 Abhimānamēru-nāṭakap-pēraiyaṉu-

11 m Śrīkaṇḍaṉ Araṅgaṉ-makkaḷukkum

12 t..... tēvadānam Pachchaip-

13 ni... ḷaril ivarkaḷukku Māśi-Maka-

14 t-tirunāḷil aiñj-aṅgamum Vai-

15 kāśi Viśākat-tirunāḷil aiñja-

16 ṅgamum āḍakkaḍavārkaḷāga viṭṭa ni

17 ḷam mūvēli iṉ-nilam=āvadu

18 puravuvari-vāykkālukkut=teṟku-

19 m talaikāṇi-vāykkālukkuk=

20 kiḻakkum it-tēvar nilattu-

21 kku mēṟkum Tirumaṇatt-el-

22 laikkum uḍaiyār nilattukku

23 vaḍakkum ip-peru-nāṉg-ellai

24 uṭpaḍu nilam iruvēliyum Su-

25 brahmaṇya-vadikkukk=kiḻakku mūṉ-

26 ṟāñ=chaturattukkuk=kiḻakkum ūr-nat-

27 tat-tiḍalkkut=teṟkum Purañji-vā-

28 ykku mēṟkum Uḍaiyār nilat-

29 tukku vaḍakkum uṭpaḍu nilam vē-

30 liyum āga nilammū-vēliyum

31 iṟaiili aṉubavittu niva-

32 ntam cheluttak-kaḍavārgaḷ=āgavum

33 it-tēvar Śrīpaṇḍārattēy ira-

34 ṇḍu tirunāḷaikkum ivargaḷukkum iva-

35 rgaḷ kūṭṭattārkkum tiruviḻāk-koṟṟu iru-

36 badiṉkala nellum mugam-eḻuda eṉ-

37 ṉai angattāl nāḻiyum māvukku a-

38 riśi angattāl nāḻiyum peṟakkaḍavārga-

39 ḷ=āgavum ippaḍi ivargaḷukkum ivarkaḷiṉ

40 vargattārkkum chantrādittavar̤-cheydu i-

41 du ivv-iraṇḍu tir̤attār̤kkuṅ=kā-

42 ṇip pappādiy=āgak=kallil veṭṭi-

43 ttu Śrī Panmāhēśvara rakshai

TRANSLATION

Lines 1–5 Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 35th (regnal) year of King Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Lord Śrī Vijayarājēndradēva who captured Kalyāṇapura and Veḷigrāma[1].

Lines 5–8 in the temple of Tirunaḷḷār̤-uḍaiyār at Tirunaḷḷār̤u, a brāmaṇa village in Mul̤aiyūr-nāḍu in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu

Lines 8–17 Three *vēli* land assigned to Śrīkaṇṭan Kamban *alias* Abhimānamēru-nāṭakap-pēraiyaṉ[2] who had the lease land for playing the Āryakkūttu[3] and to Śrīkanṭaṉ Araṅgaṉ and sons at . . . . . a deity's village for playing five parts (of the dance) on the festival day of Maghā in the month of Māśi (Māgha i.e., Feb–March) and for playing five parts on the festival day of Viśākhā in the month of Vaikāśi (May–June).

Lines 17–24 Two *vēlis* of land with the four boundaries south of Puravuvari-vāykkāl, east of Talaikaṇi-vāykkāl, west of the land of this deity and north of the boundary of (the village) Tirumaṇam and (also north of) land of (this) lord.

Lines 25–30 One *vēli* of land within (the boundaries) east of Subrahmaṇya-*vadi* (road or canal) and of the third irrigation-square section *(chaduram)*, south of the mound (inside the) settlement area of the village and west of Purañji-vāy (channel).

Lines 31–32 Thus they shall discharge their assignments by enjoying (these) three *vēlis* of land as free from taxes.

Lines 33–39 They shall receive from the deity's treasury twenty *kalams* of paddy as charges for the festival (duties) for them and their groups for both the festivals and also one *nāḷi* of oil per part to paint the face and one *nāḷi* or rice for flour[4] per part.

39–43 Thus the (land) assignment (shall be) leased out to both these parties and their groups as half per each party *(pappādi)*[5] and be engraved on stone.

Line 43 (This shall be in the) protection of the several Māhēśvaras (of the temple).

Notes :

1. Chōḷa Rājādhirāja I was also called Vijaiy arājēndra. He claims to have captured Kalyāṇapura, the capital of the Chālukyas and also Veḷigrāma Baḷigāṁve in North Canara District of Karnataka. He is known to have brought several treasures including a stone *dvārapālaka* sculpture inscribed as "Śrī Vijayarājēndradēvar Kalyāṇapuram= eṟindu koḍuvanda Dvārapālakar" i.e. Dvārapālaka brought after attacking Kalyāṇapura (by) Śrī Vijayarājēndradēvar. The sculpture is now in the Thanjavur Art Gallery.

2. Abhimānamēru was probably an epithet of the Chōḷa king (Rājēndra I or II) whom he might have served previously. Kamban was a dancer and also a drama artist *(nāṭaka)*. Land had acquired the title nāṭakappēr–Araiyaṉ.

3. *Āryakkūttu* generally occurs in inscriptions along with *Tamiḻ*akkuttu thus signifying two branches of dance-drama forms coinciding with the northern or Sanskritic and the southern or Dravidian heritages of the art. Inscriptions from Āḍuturai, Tañjāvūr, Tiruveḷḷārai, and Tiruviḍaimarudūr refer to both these forms. For more information on these and allied forms like Śantikkūttu, Chākkaikkūttu etc., see *Kalaikkaḷañjiyam* in Tamil under *nāṭṭiyam* volume VI, pp. 340–41.

4. The flour will be naturally white in colour. The other colours which are not referred to here are fully dealt with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Manīsha Granthalaya by Dr. Manmohan Ghosh, Calcutta 1950 and 1967, chapter 23, Āhāryābhinaya.

5. *Pappādi* i.e. *pādi pādi* for each.

18. A TIGALARI INSCRIPTION FROM GUNAVANTE

H. R. Raghunath Bhat

Noticed and copied during our recent field-work at Guṇavante in Honnavara taluk, Uttara Kannada District, this life-size stone inscription represents one of the rare examples of the use of a peculiar script called *Tigaḷāri* in an inscription of the Vijayanagara period from Uttara Kannada. Its headpiece is equally interesting as it illustrates in high relief a Svayambhū liṅga in the slopy roofed shrine, *dīpa stambha*, a priest performing *dhūpārati* ; to the left side are found cow and calf, the moon and a sickle *(katti)* and to the right side are found Nandi and the Sun mostly in local style and idiom. There are about fortyone lines of writing. The invocation and the imprecatory passages as well as a few lines in the beginning are in Sanskrit. The rest of the contents is entirely in Kannaḍa language.[1]

The epigraph refers to the rule of the Vijayanagara king Vīra Pratāpa Dēvarāya, son of Vīra Harihara. His *mahāpradhāna* was Īchappa Oḍeyar who was administeringHaiva, Tuḷu and Koṅkaṇa-rājyas from Honnāvara capital city in 1330 Śaka Sarvadhāri, Kārttika śuddha pāḍya, Ādityavāra which is equivalent to 3-10-1408 A.D. It records the land grant as well as the village-gift to Śrīpāda of Mahēndrapuri who was a disciple of Śrīpāda of Purandarapuri.

The details of the grant are given in the typical Vijayanagara style. Nāgatīrtha, Maṇṇivoḷu (Manki), Handigōṇa, Honnāpura (Honnāvar) are some of the place-names identifiable in the area. Purandarapura and Mahēndrapura are yet to be identified. The donative portion or contents are of socio-economic importance.[2]

The governing *mahāpradhāna* Īchappa Oḍeya represents one of the thirteen known local rulers who administered from their headquarters Honnāvar under the auspices of Vijayanagara rāyas.[3]

What is equally interesting and important is the palaeography of the stone inscription. The characters are generally described as early Malayāḷam mixed with later Grantha. It is also taken to illustrate the development of early Malayāḷam script (from Grantha). It is sometimes described as Tuḷu script by some scholars like A.C. Burnell and K. V. Ramesh.[4] An interdisciplinary approach to his problem helps us to go a step or two further in this direction.

It appears to be a script of social and regional significance. It is evolved and used by the Vaidika scholars like the Haviks of Canara and Malnāḍ region even to this day. It is generally adopted for writing Vedic mantras, tantra, and also for kāvya, purāṇas, śāstras etc. It is named as Tigaḷāri, also known as Tikaḷāri. The etymology may be thought of as Tiguḷa + ari.

Of course the people from Tamil Nadu were called in ancient Karnataka as Tiguḷas as evidenced by Kannaḍa kāvyas and inscriptions, like Sarvajña Vachana as found in Nītipadya edited by Chennappa Uttangi[5], Hirēhaḍagali inscription of 1057[6] and Hangal inscription of 12th century.[7] Tamiḷu+ārya might have become Tiguḷāya>Tiguḷāri, in local dialect.

It is curious to know that the inscription of the Mahāliṅgēśvarālaya at Tadimāliṅgi in Tirumakūḍalu, Narasipur taluk of Mysore district recording a land grant for running a primary school where Nāgarī, Kannaḍa and Tiguḷārya were to be taught in the Mālangi Sarvajña Sriraṅgapura. (*Nāgara, Kannaḍa Tiguḷāryamanōdisuva bālaśikshēya upādhyāyara jīvitakke varsha ondakke gadyāṇāru*). But the editor of this inscription split the term Tiguḷārya into Tiguḷa and Ārya as two separate scripts in addition to Nāgarī and Kannaḍa.[8] The boulder inscription from Svādi in Sirsi taluk (Uttara Kannada) of the time of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla (13th century) is incised entirely in Tigaḷāri script.[9] Thus Tiguḷāri was in usage in early medieval period as evidenced by these epigraphs. Not only that, there was a special training in Tiguḷāri given by teachers in the *agrahāras* like Maliṅgi Sarvajña Śrīraṅgapura.

The local traditions of Uttara Kannaḍa region help us to trace the origin of the Tigaḷāri to some extent. The Vaidika Havīks of Śankarāchārya tradition of the area used to go to Malayāḷam speaking region for higher studies in Jyōtisha, Āyurvēda, Śāstras as well as Vēdas. They evolved a script and used it in their writing of manuscripts. It is also said that they used this script as the secret script (*gupta lipi*). Though they had already learnt Nāgarī and Kannaḍa script, many purōhits used the Tigaḷāri ; for keeping up the sanctity of their sacred literature.

Tigaḷāri seems to have been derived from early Malayāḷam and later Grantha and Kannaḍa scripts. It represents a transitional stage as we find mixing up of these scripts. However, M. S. Bhat while editing the Honnēhaḷḷi inscription of Arasappa Nāyaka II (Śaka 1478) stated that the script used in it illustrates the development of early Malayāḷam script from Grantha[10] All these aspects are worth probing further.

Some of the characteristics of the palaeography of the Guṇavante inscription may be summarised as follows :

1. The form of medial *ā* stands midway between later Grantha and Malayāḷam.
2. The letters *k*, *t*, *n* and *y* resemble their Malayāḷam forms.
3. The letter *d* shows a curve in the place of the central *daṇḍa* of the Grantha forms.
4. The use of Kannada *śakaṭarēfa* is found in some places.
5. The shape of the letters *r* and *s* is not uniform ; the letter *r* is similar to that of Kannaḍa without *talekaṭṭu* (serif).
6. This script represents a transitional nature and stage more than its carelessness on engraving on the part of its engraver.

I shall leave it as it is, at this stage with some of these questions for further research :

Why is this Tigaḷāri script used in Kannaḍa inscriptions of Uttara Kannada ?

Whether we get the same text simultaneously in Kannaḍa script or not ?

A comparative study of the epigraphs of Uttara Kannaḍa and Kēraḷa may substantially help us in solving the issue as Tigaḷāri resembles more to early Malayāḷam than

to Tamil Grantha. In fact it is sometimes called Malayāḷam script ; Hence the Tigaḷāri script as used in both inscriptions and manuscripts found in Uttara Kannada deserves a detailed study.

TEXT[11]

1 Svasti śrī Gaṇapatayē namaḥ [|*] Namas=tunga-śiraś-chumbi=chandra-chāmara-chāravē [|*].

2 trailōkya-nagar-ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē [||*] Namō Guṇavatī-grāmavāsinē

3 mātanyute śrī-man-mahārājādhirāja rāja-paramēśvara pratāpachakravarti śrī-

4 vīra-Harihara-mahārāyara priyakumāra śrī Vīrapratāpadēvarāya-oḍeyaru

5 Vijayanagara rājyam-āḷuvalli sukhasamkathā-vinōdad-alliddu pūrva-dakshiṇa-paschima-

6 samudra-vēlā-mēkhalāl-ālankrutavaha mahāmaṇḍalavanu dushṭanigraha śi shṭa

7 pratipālanapūrvakavāgi dharmadali pratipālisutta yiralu ā rayara nirūpa

8 dinda śrī-mahā-pradhānam yīchappa-oḍeyaru Honnāpurada rājadhāniyalliddu

9 Haiva-Tuḷu-Konkaṇa-rājyagaḷanu dharmadinda pratipālisatamyaiddantina

10 Śakavarsha sāvirada munnūra mūvattaneya Sarvadhāri saṁvatsarada Kārtika

11 śuddha pāḍyavu ādivāradalli śrī-Vīrapratāpadēvarāya-oḍeyara nirūpadinda

12 śrīman-mahāpradhāna Yīchappaoḍeyaru śrīmat-Purandharapuri-śrīpādamgaḷa

13 śishyarāda śrīman-Mahēndrapuri-śrīpādangaḷige barasi sthāpisi arpisikoṭṭa

14 dharma-silāśāsanada bhāshā-kramavetendaḍe pūrvadalli śrī Harihara mahārāya-

15 ru Nāgatīrthada śrīmat-Purandharapuri-Śrīpādangaḷige Śivarātre-mahākāladali

16 ombattu mūḍeyaba bhikshā-kshētravanu āchandrārka-sthāyiyāgi dhāre

17 yeradu koṭṭu ā rāyara nirūpadinda Mallappa-oḍeyaru Śrīmat-Purandharapuri-

18 śrīpādangaḷige bhikshārthavāgi Mannivoḷu-grāmadamēle nānūreppaṭṭareḍuvare

19 mūḍe haḷetērina hattavanu mēluvechchhakke Hañchikōṇa-ūrannu sarvamānyagai

20 koṭṭa śilā-śāsana tāmraśāsana pūrvakavāgi pratipālisi baruttaṁ yiralu

21 mēle Maṇṇivoḷu-grāmada prabhugaḷu ā hattavanu Mahēndrapuri-śrīpādangaḷige

22 nadesalārade ittisibandudarinda Mahēndrapuri-śrīpādangaḷu ā hattavanu

23 aramanege oppisidarāgi a hattakke kraya prati-gadyāṇa ondakkam innūru

24 nalavattara-lekkadalli pratigadyāna ondakke hattu-mūḍe adara-lekkadalli

25 tombattanālku honnu ayidu haṇa yī honnonoḷage ippattondu honnu ippattāru

26 sambēḷeya lekkada pratige eḍahoḷe kaliyūra mēle pūrvadalli sēnara Banki-

27 dēvarasaru māḍida dharma Śrīman-Mahābalēśvara-dēvaringe kaliyamēle

28 prati-gādyāṇa ondakkantara innūramūvattārara lekkadalli mūru honnu āru-

29 haṇa Kokkēśvara dēveringe Eḍahoḷeyamēle pratimūḍe ondakke haṇe mūvattara

30 lekkadalli hanneraḍu mūḍe hattarottara ūra ī hattavu ī idara mēle

31 honnu allade mattara terukaḍe mariyāde ayidarin bayilla Brahmapuri-mēle

32 aparadalli ā vūra mēle arasukaḷi aramanege mūlakandāyadalli anukūlavāgi

33 naḍeda prati-gadyāṇa ondakkem intara ippattārara lekkadalli nadineṇṭu

34 honnu svāmy-utpanna bhāgavanu Śrī Mahēndrapuri-śrīpādangaḷige bhikshārtha

35 vāgi Pratāparāya-oḍeyara nirūpadinda Yīchappa-oḍeyaru ā Eḍahoḷe kaliyūnnu

36 āchandrārka-sthāyiyāgi sarvamānyavāgi koṭṭaru ā vūra mēle akara asantāya

37 dinda biḍāra modalāda honnavali viśēsha āvudu aramanege illa ā vūra śrī

38 pādamgaḷige sarvamānya Ā hoḷekaḷiyūra . . . . apsarakuṇḍa sthānādhipatigaḷu

39 śrīman-Mahēndrapura-śrīpādamgaḷu ā avara śishya-paramparēya hi . . .

40 svāmya sahitavāgi āchandrasthāyiyāgi anubhōgisi pālisikoṇḍu baruvudu ।

41 Āditya-chandrāv=analō=' nilaś=cha dyaur-bhūmir-āpō hṛidayam yamaś=cha [।*]

42 ahaś=cha rātriś=cha ubhē cha sandhyē dharmaś=cha jānāti narasya vṛittam [॥*]

43 Dāna-pālanayōr=madhyē dānāt=śrēyō='nupālanaṁ [।*] dānat=svargam avāpnōti pālanād=achyutaṁ padaṁ (dam) [॥] Śubham=astu [॥*]

Notes :

1. This stone slab was traced by accident while renovating the famous Śambhulinga temple at Guṇavante in Honnavara taluk, a few years ago. Our thanks are due to all the members of the temple trust and to Sri Pandit who helped us in reading this inscription. Our sincere thanks are due to K. G. Krishnan Chief Epigraphist (Rtd.), Mysore for his valuable suggestions.
2. A separate paper is being prepared on the socio-economic aspect of the epigraph from Guṇavante.
3. See, Suryanath U. Kamath (Ed), *Karnataka State Gazetteer : Uttara Kannada District*, Bangalore, 1985, p. 124.
4. See, Burnell A. C., *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p. 41; Ramesh K. V. *Tuḷuva*, Vol. IV, p.34.
5. Chennappa Uttangi (Ed.), *Sarvajñana Vachanagalu*, p. 219.
6. *S.I.I.*, vol. X, No. 118 (1057).
7. *K.I.* vol. V, No. 105 (12th century).
8. *E.C.*, vol. III (1974), Tn. 98 (1290).
9. *A.R.I.E.*, 1939-40 No. 16. We have traced as many as eleven Tigaḷāri epigraphs so far in Uttara Kannada district,
10. *E. I.* vol. XXXIV No. 31.
11. From impressions.

19. THE BONDED LABOUR - ITS REFERENCE FROM AGARAM INSCRIPTIONS

C. R. Srinivasan

Of late, there is a concerted move in the political circles to wipe out a disgrace that had befallen on the society - a legacy that is inherited knowingly or unknowingly-a bestowal of the past which has left its indelible marks here and there, and that disgrace being the bonded labour. The Government of India, as a matter of fact in its genuine concern to abolish this age old anachronism in the modern society has really succeeded in its endeavour by making a number of legislations. This is about 'forced' labour. Here, I would like to stress in the present paper how the forced labour, under the garb of religion got the sanctity and approval of the then prevalent society and the nature of the duties that are expected of from these accursed group of individuals during the Vijayanagara period in Tamilnadu. In fact, there is a difference between slavery and bonded labour. Slavery is not uncommon to South Indian Epigraphy. The Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya inscriptions are replete with references to slavery.

Agaram, a small sleepy village in Vellore Taluk, North Arcot District could only boast of its well preserved Gajēndra-Varadarājaperumāḷ temple, a granite structure of Vijayanagara period, though the temple was in existence even before the reconstruction or renovation during the benovalent rule of this dynasty. The name Agaram definitely indicates that it was once an *agrahāram* of note - a brāhmaṇa settlement of repute - as it was designated and singularised without a prefix or suffix.

This is an uncommon factor which is not often met with. The present form is a contraction of *agrahāram*. The present name of the temple Gajēndra-Varadarājaperumāḷ temple is quite interesting as it reminds of puranic episode viz., the distress call of the elephant Gajēndra who was in the jaw of the crocodile and timely release by the ever-compassionate Vishṇu in answer to the fervent prayer of his ardent devotee. There is a tiny sculptural representation depicting this allusion scooped out in one of the external walls of central shrine. The Sanskrit form of the Gajēndra-Varadarāja is nowhere mentioned in any of the inscriptions copied. On the contrary, the translated version of the Tamil form - Āṇai-kātta perumāḷ - i. e., the lord who protected the elephant is seen. Instead of the literary form *Yāṇai*, the colloquial form *Āṇai* has been employed. The name Varadarāja, the giver of the boons, is perhaps derived from the canonical aspect of the presiding deity of the temple.

This temple which is now in a good state of preservation contains five inscriptions[1] all of which belong to the Vijayanagara period. The earliest of these inscriptions belongs to the reign of Dēvamahārāya dated Saka 1353 [1431 A.D] and records the renovation of the sanctum-sanctorum, *ardha-maṇḍapa* and other parts of the temple complex together with the creation of

maḍaviḷāgam, etc., and also exemption of taxes on temple lands in the specified villages.

Mention of this inscription is necessary because the other available epigraphs are perhaps engraved only after the date of this record.

The inscription which is taken up for discussion primarily from this place is engraved on the first tiers of the north and west walls of the central shrine. The language of the inscription is Tamil. Excepting a few Grantha letters used for Sanskrit words, the record is written in the Tamil script in characters of the 15th century. As regards orthography, the usual omissions and commissions which are proverbial to the Vijayanagara period are noticeable in a number of places. Indifferent usage of consonants, viz., l, ḻ, ḷ, ṉ, ṇ, etc., failure to observe the rules of sandhi, Tamilisation of Sanskrit words, and scribal mistakes are apparently observed. However these are the very common phenomena of Vijayanagara inscriptions. As this may warrant a detailed study, I am not going to dilate or delve in detail upon this aspect. But I may say that a cursory glance of this inscription would show that emphasis for the colloquial form is given more.

The inscription[2] which begins with the concise and characteristic Tamil *praśasti Śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran*, etc., is dated in the reign of Mallikārjuna-mahārāyar, who has the distinguished epithet of *Gajavēṭṭai-kaṇḍu aruḷiya*. The portion recording the details of date viz., Śaka 1391, Virōdhi, Makara śu. 5, Saturday, Tirvōṇam roughly corresponds to 1470 A. D. January 6, the *nakshatra* being Śatabhishak, when the details of date are corrsponded. We may safely assign this record to the period 1470 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the voluntary sale of thirteen *Kaikkōḷars* of Āḻmaiyūr in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam of which six were male and seven were female members, as a group of bonded labourers (*kottu-aḍimai*) to the temple of the deity Āṉaikātta Appaṉ now known as Gajēndra-Varadarājaperumāḷ for 2380 *Vāśipaḍā-naṟpaṇam* received from the treasury of samaya-kumārar Vaṉṉiya Timma nāyakkar, the *Śrīkaryam* of the temple. The six male members of this group were required to perform services such as lifting the deities in procession, acting as body-guards and such other menial services due from their community. The seven females were required to dance, sing and to perform other services.

From the phrase *Āḻmaiyūrilum vandu Pālināṭṭu Agarattilirukkum kaikkoḷaril*, it is evident that these *kaikkoḷas* were the emigrants from Āḻmaiyūr and had taken up residence at Āṉaiyūr in Pāli-nāḍu. Basically *kaikkoḷas* are weavers and this community was wielding high influence as members of the *militia* during the Chōḷa period. It is not known how this class degenerated themselves and is reduced to the state of embracing bonded labour under their own volition; with members of the family lock, stock and barrel.

Let us see the filial bond of the bonded labourers. Sōḻakōṉ Tittamuḍaiyan was the head of the family. His son Periya Rāguttan, and the latter's brother Saṅkēti Rāguttan, they three form the male members of the group.

His sister Gangai and her sister Tirumalaichchi, sons Viran and Timman etc., together with the son of his brother constitute eight persons. In brief, it may be said that umblical and fraternal relationship existed among the members of this group.

The process of becoming a bonded labour is well delineated in this inscription. The public auction probably in the premises of the temple and in the august presence of the *Śrīkaryam* plays a vital role. The mantle of conducting the auction generally falls on the auctioneer. Here strangely the auctioneer himself is the very same person who becomes the object of the auction. Here the phrases *muṟkūri edirmoḻi* and *piṟkuri* are very significant as they convey the volition of the individual or group of individuals in the present case for being a bonded labourer and the acceptance of the person in power, competent enough to act as the laison officer on behalf of the temple. In this context, Periya Rāguttan may be taken as the proposer or bidder and Vanniya Timmaya-nāyakar, the *Śrīkāryam* of the temple as the purchaser or the buyer. The relevant text may be quoted here "*aga engaḷ padimūṉṟu pēraiyum koṭṭu aḍimai āga Emperumān tirukkōvilukkuk-koḷvān-uḷarō eṉṟu markūṟi, immoḻi kāṭṭu edirmoḻi koḍuttōn.*

It was also agreed upon by the buyer that a sum of 2380 *Vāśipaḍa naṟpaṇam*, was the amount of sale or the price-tag of the thirteen individuals. Thus it works out 183 *paṇam* per individual. The conditional adjective *vāśipaḍanaṟ* i.e., the safety clause added to *paṇam* really helps the beneficiary from the usual defects and impurities with which the currency are mostly associated and the elimination of such defects are noteworthy here.

It is also stipulated that after having drawn the said amount from the treasury (*bhanḍāra*) of Timmayanāyakkar, Periya Rāguttan had to execute a sale-deed in favour of the temple and the duties to be discharged depending upon the *sex* of the individuals. Thus the six male members (3+3) of this group were expected to do the masculine work such as (a) lifting the image of the deity (*Śrīpādam tāṅgavum*) in procession (b) to be the bodyguards of the deities (*tirumēni-kāval*) and (c) any other legitimate menial services due from this community. The other such members of the weaker sex were supposed to dance, sing and to perform 'other services' (*Emperumān adiyāṟkku uṇḍa aḍimai toḻilgaḷukkum*).

As this service is not well-defined, it may also be construed that they had to render services to the devotees of the lord. It is surprising to note that all the above services are to be rendered heriditarily (*vaḻīvaḻi, paripālanam uḷḷadu*) by both the sexes to lord. This is a clear injunction that even posterity should adhere to the agreement of sale. Thus the term *koṭṭuaḍimai* or the bonded labour gets greater significance and severity on account of the committment made by the forenunners of the agreement, in spite of the logic advanced that it was only under their own volition. It is a clear case wherein the progenies also got themselves entangled in the shackles of bonded labour unwittingly for no fault of theirs.

We may recall here that the parties involved in this deed belong to the two

communities viz , *Kaikkōḷas* and *Vaṉṉiyars*. We have already seen the despicable plight of the former. It is amazing to note that Vaṉṉiyars occupying the upper strata in the social heirarchy and wielding considerable influence . occupy a key position politically and also to administer and control the finances of the temple to the extent of incurring a huge expenditure of 2380 *paṇam* from the temple treasury. On the other hand, the *Kaikkōḷas*, who once dominated the political scenerio, were reduced to the position of nomadic emigrants, seeking shelter as bonded labourers within the portals of the temple. This, of course, may be due to the economic upheavals which the country had witnessed after the advent of Vijayanagara power in Tamil country. The communal suffix *nāyakkar* affords an indirect evidence that *vaṉṉiyars* had more say in the local administration, as revealed by the present inscription It is to be observed here that they belong to the *kshatriya* clan in the social order of the society.

The geographical divisions that are mentioned in this inscription viz., Jayaṅ-goṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, Paḷuvūr kōṭṭam, Pāli-nāḍu and Ayampuḷi-nāḍu are well known and they have been identified already. Āḷmaiyūr is nothing but the variation of present Āmbūr. Similarly Iriñjipuram is the old name of the Viriñchipuram. Torā-paḷḷi and Kāvanūr are the nearby villages to Agaram. They are all in Vellore Taluk.

Besides the signatories mostly of the priestly class, the document was drafted by Bhaṭṭar Vāriyan Appiḷai and it was engraved by Vīrarkumīṇḍa Āchāri Nambāṇḍai. It may not be out of context to mention a similar transaction that had taken place in the very same temple in 1471 A.D. The inscription[8], which is engraved in the west wall base of the central shrine is dated in Śaka 1393, Khara, Kanni, śu. 11, Tuesday, Aviṭṭam corresponding to 1471 A. D., September 24, during the reign of Rājaśēkharamahārāyar, commences with the usual opening lines *Śrīman-mahā-maṇḍalēśvaran* and attributes the distinctive epithet *Gajavēṭṭai-kaṇḍaruḷiya* to Rājaśēkhara the reigning king. As there is difference of one year between the earlier record of Mallikārjuna (1447-65 A.D.) and the present record of Rājaśēkhara and as the epithet '*Gajavēṭṭai*' is employed in both the cases and Vaṉṉiya Timmunāyakar figures as the *Śrīvāryam*, it should not be conjecturely concluded that the kings of both the records are identical. Mallikārjuna's rule actually extended up to 1465 A. D. However his Agaram records bears the date 14 0 A.D. As the date is irregular, reliance may not be placed as to the accuracy of the date. As regards Rājaśēkhara, of the second record we may identify the king either with Rājaśēkhara son of Mallikārjuna whose inscriptions are available at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai or with Rājaśēkhararāya, the son of Dēvarāya II of acc. ś. 1392=1470 A. D. who describes himself as one who instituted the 'Elephant-hunt'.

The inscription records a similar transaction of four individuals viz., Periyamudali and his three daughters, of Sāttimaṅgalam of Paḷūrkōṭṭam all belonging to the *kaikkōḷa* community to the same temple for a 200 *naṟpaṇam* received from the same individual Vaṉṉiya Timmunāyakkar with conditions unaltered in the matter of rendering the required services from them, as per the allocation of duties.

The one important point which is to be noted in this connection is that within a lapse of year, the price-tag of the voluntary sale of an individual has drastically and dramatically resulted in a nose-dive. This slash in price may be due to the continued economic depression or backwardness, which would have haunted the bonded labourers ; and rendering them to opt for the only course of getting themselves chained to the fetters of the bonded labour. We have seen in the earlier instance that the-sale price works out 183 *paṇam* per individual, whereas in the present case the ratio is 50 *paṇam* per individual, thus showing the sordid story of economic breakdown within a year. The labour being cheap, the labourer had to turn out the same quantum of work.

Notes :

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1977-78, Nos : 278-82.
2. *A.R.Ep.*, 1977-78, No. 278.
3. *A.R.Ep.*, No. 279.
4. *A.R.Ep.*, 1977-78 No. 280.

One more record[4] from the same temple deserves mention here. It refers to the allocation of services in the temple (*aḍiyār–murai-aḍaivu*) among the ten female servants of the temple. This undated inscription which is assignable to 15th century, records that the services to be rendered to the temple by the female servants - probably of these bonded labourers were divided into ten keeping the order of precedence. This was perhaps introduced to avoid conflict and clashes and also to provide security or legal sanction to their decendants.

The above study clearly reveals the state of bonded labour and its repurcussions on the temple and society, and particularly in the realm of economics.

20. HALEKOTE INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA BANADHIRAJA, SAKA-975

N. N. Swamy

The inscription[1], edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy) is engraved on a stone lying in front of the Āñjanēya temple at Haḷekōṭe, near Sidaragaḍḍa (Siddara-ghaṭṭa) in the Siruguppa taluk of the Bellary District, Karnataka. The epigraph was, for the first time noticed and copied by me, in the course of my epigraphical village to village survey of Siruguppa taluk in the year 1978 A.D.

The inscription contains 23 lines of writing. The inscribed surface measures about 115 cms. in length and 70 cms. in breadth. The record is in Kannaḍa prose except an imprecatory verse at the end. The epigraph was written by Chāvaṇayya.

The palaeography of the record is regular for the period and region to which it belongs. However, this period is known for its transitional variations of latters. The following orthographical points deserve notice. The initial vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, *ū*, *e* and *o* are found respectively in lines 3, 16, 10, 11, 13 and 11. The Dravidian letter ṟ is represented clearly and *ḷ* is differentiated from *l* by a loop-like formation at the left of the letter. *Anusvāra* is used in place of *anunāsika* as in *paṁcha* in line 1. The class nasals *ṇ*, *ñ* and *n* are found employed in quite a few cases. Further, instead of the palatal *ś*, the sibilant *s* is wrongly used in some cases. The record bristles with mistakes as it was usual to the period to which it belongs.

The record refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya King Sōmēśvara-I (1042-68 A.D.) and bears Śaka 975, Jaya and *Uttarāyaṇa Sankrānti* only and no other details are stated. The details can however be worked out and it corresponds to 24th December 1052 A.D. The week day was Thursday as the P.D.T. was a *rikta* tithi.

The purport of the epigraph is to record a gift of 12 *mattar* of land for the teacher Bala-dēva. Further, it registers a grant of 6 *mattar* of land with stipulation regarding the annual payment to be made by the *gāmuṇḍa*, (the *ūroḍeya*) to the *okkalu-makkal*.

The inscription is interesting for three points of view. The first and foremost is that it introduces a new feudatory of the king, Bāṇādhirāja for the first time from the historical point. Secondly, it throws new light that a branch of Baṇa dynasty was under the suzerainty of Western-Chālukya king Sōmēśvara-I. Lastly, it is very much interesting to note the transitional changes in the formation of letters, especially Kannaḍa-Telugu letters.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it discloses for the first time, a Bāṇa chief by name Trailōkyamalla-Bāṇādhirāja. The history of the period shows that the region comprising Bellary formed part of the kingdom of the Noḷamba-pallavas, who ruled over this region from

Hēmavati for over two centuries. By the beginning of the 10th century they lost their territory and their erstwhile kingdom, become fragmented and were occupied by different chiefs. As is known from the present inscription, the Bāna chief is endowed with a string of epithets, the notable among them is the title Bāṇādhirāja which shows that he belongs to the Bāṇa stock.

Since the Bṛihad-bāṇas have disappeared from the scene, he cannot be associated with that family. Therefore, he should have belonged to a different Bāṇa family possibly holding sway over parts of Bellary District. In this connection, attention may be drawn to an inscription from Kōgaḷi[2] which is dated in Śaka 9t9, and belongs to the reign of one Trailōkyamalla Nanni-Noḷambādhirāja. While one will be tempted to identify him with Trailōkyamalla of our record, there are equally valid reasons against this identification.

In the Kōgaḷi record, the Noḷamba-pallava chief is not endowed with the title Bāṇādhirāja or any of the epithets found in the inscription under study.

It is equally difficult to identify the Trailōkyamalla of the Kōgaḷi record with his name sake of the Noḷamba-Pallava family for the reason that the former is not endowed with any of the familiar titles associated with the Noḷamba Pallavas.

Since Kōgaḷi and Haḷekōṭe the findspot of the present inscription are proximate to each other, it is difficult to postulate the existence of two chiefs bearing the same name ruling in the same period.

Attention may be drawn to the fact that none of the known kings of the Bāṇa family assume the name of their imperial overlords as against the Noḷamba-Pallavas. We have therefore to postulate that the Bāṇa family to which Trailōkyamalla of the present inscription may belong, might have adopted the practice followed by the Nōḷamba Pallavas in naming themselves after their overlords for the reason that the territory over which he was ruling was under the hedgemony of the Noḷamba-Pallavas.[3] If that be the case, it is tempting to identify the Trailōkyamalla of Kōgaḷi record with his name sake of the inscription under study. If this identification is accepted one can postulate that the area over which Trailōkyamalla exercised control included the taluks of Siruguppa and Haradanahally of the Bellary District, Karnataka.

It is well-known that during the time of Vikramāditya VI, a Bāṇa family was ruling over Khāṇḍava-maṇḍala[4], which comprised parts of Gulbarga and Belgaum districts and ruled for about three generations[5].

The present inscription shows that during the time of Sōmēśvara-I, a Bāṇa family owing allegiance to him was ruling over the region comprising parts of Bellary District. Thus, the inscription is very important in disclosing the existence of a new Bāṇa family in the Bellary region ruling under the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa.

Among the geographical names, occurring in the record, viz., Sindavura is the modern Sindhanur, the taluk headquarters of Raichur District, Karnataka, Kurukshetra, Vārāṇasi and Ganga-Yamuneyar-Kūḍuvalli i.e., Prayāg are the other already known places mentioned in the inscription.

TEXT[6]

1 Svasti samadhigata paṁcha-mahā-śabda-ma-

2 hā-maṇḍaḷēśvaran=udāra māhēśvara-pē-

3 lippara gaṇḍa Bāṇamārttāṇḍa adatar-aṅkusa(śa) daḷamu-

4 ṭṭe saṁkisaṁ muḷivara-Bhīman= āhava-rāmaṁ kaliyuga

5 pārtthaṁ vikramadhūrtha sau(śau)chāñjanēya satyavākya nāmādi-

6 samasta prasa(śa)sti sahitaṁ Śrīmat-Trailōkyamalla Bānādhi-

7 rājarsar Sa(Śa)kavarsha 975 nēya Jaya-saṁvatsarad=U

8 ttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti nimitya(ta)diṁ Sindāvurada Kūḍala Mallikārjjuna
dēvargge biṭṭa mattar 12 pātrapā[vu]-

9 laṟugargge biṭṭa mattar 12 upādhyāya Baladēva-

10 rge mattar 3 alliya ūrōḍeya gāmuṇḍā okkala-

11 makkaḷge koṭṭa si(śi)lā sā(śā)nam=ent=endoḍe u[ta]kā-prata(tha)

12 [ma] śrāhege mattaralu paṇa[7] eraḍanege matta-

13 ralu paṇa 2 mūṟenege mattaru paṇa 2 (3)

14 nālkane mattaralu paṇa 4 aydenege kari-

15 kke saluvudu || Idaṁ pratipāḷisu[vu*]du a-

16 ḷidava tanna mātā-prity(pitru) kavile[yu*]man=adaṟa ka

17 ṟuvanu tīrttha[mu*]ṁ intinitumam argghya tīrttha

18 gu(Ku)rukshetra Varāṇāsi Gaṁge-Yamunēya [r*] kū

19 duvalli kattigeya'āḷida pātakake saluvaru ||

20 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattaṁ vā yōharētu(ta)vasundhari(rām)[|*]shashṭir-

21 vari(r)sha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi mi(vi)shṭāyā[ṁ*] jāyatē krimiḥ [||*]

22 Saṁkadagopa[n*]atige kādada perggaḍe

23 magamatta Chāvaṇayyan=akkaram[|| *]

Notes :

1. *ARIE.*, App.B 98 of 1978–79.
2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, Ins. No. 106, pp. 81 ff.
3. Studies in Indology – The article on Tekkalakōṭa inscription of Brahmādhirāja, Śaka–943 by N. N. Swamy, p. 84.
4. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XXI, pt. I to IV, p. 991.
5. *ARIE.*, 1989–90. App. B. No. (unpublished record from Banhaḷḷi, Humnabad Taluk, Bidar District, Karnataka).
6. From inked impression.
7. The letter *ya* is written below the line in small characters.
8. I am thankful to Dr. S. S. Iyer for his guidance.

21. HALMIDI INSCRIPTION OF KAKUSTHA–BHATTORA —A FRESH STUDY

G. S. Gai

This inscription was discovered in the year 1936 by M. H. Krishna, the then Director of Archaeology of the erstwhile Goverment of Mysore, at Halmiḍi, a village in the Belur taluk of the Hassan District in Karnataka. The inscription, which is engraved on a stone slab, is now kept in the Office of the Director of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Karnataka, at Mysore. The record has been published by Krishna in the *Mysore Archaeological Report (M.A.R.)* for the year 1936, pp. 72 ff. The same scholar has published the Kannaḍa version of this article in the ournal *Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka (Pr. Kar.)*, Vol. 20, pp. :0 ff.

Krishna identified the ruler Kakustha-Bhaṭṭōran mentioned in this record with the imperial Kadamba king Kākusthavarman and assigned it to *circa* 450 A.D. This inscription is considered as the earliest record written in Kannaḍa language and is thus important. Since the publication of Krishna's article, most of the scholars who have dealt with this record have followed his identification of the ruler. The object of this paper is to re-examine this identification proposed by Krishna. An attempt is also made to throw fresh light on some expressions and words occurring in the epigraph which have proved to be a hard nut to crack to many a scholar. The inscription has suffered damage in many places with the result that many letters have become illegible and difficult to read.

After the invocatory verse in praise of Vishṇu at the beginning, the record mentions a ruler named Kakustha-Bhaṭṭōra who is described as Kadambapan, who is liberal in bestowing gifts and who is the enemy of a certain Kalabhōra. Since the ruler Kakustha-Bhaṭṭōra is described as Kadambapan, Krishna has identified him with the imperial Kadamba king Kākusthavarman and assigned the record to circa 450 A.D.[1] But the scholars who are familiar with the copper-plate as well as stone inscriptions of the imperial Kadamba dynasty[2] know that the rulers of this dynasty are generally described as belonging to Kadamba-vaṁśa or Kadamba-kula besides bearing the titles *Mānavyasagōtra, Hāritīputra* and *Dharma-mahārāja*. For example, we find in their records expressions like, "*Kadamba-kulē śrīmān=babhūva dvij-ōttamaḥ nāmatō Mayūraśarmm=ēti*"[3] ; "*Kadambānāṁ Dharma-mahārājasya śrī—Vijaya—Śiva—Mṛigēśa-varmmaṇah*"[4] ; "*Kadamba-vaṁśē Kākustha-varmm=ēti nṛipō babhūva*"[5] ; "*Vikhyāta-Kadamba-kul-ōdhbhūtasya śrī-Mṛigēśavar-mma-Dharmma-mahārājaḥ*"[6], etc. But none of these titles or adjectives is associated with the name Kakustha-Bhaṭṭōra of the record under study. There is no evidence to show that he belonged to or was born in the Kadamba family. Further, not a single record of the Kadamba dynasty mentions Kākusthavarman as Kakustha-Bhaṭṭōra or even as Kakustha. This leads us to the conclusion that this Kakustha-Bhaṭṭōra does not belong to the imperial

Kadamba dynasty as has been thougnt by Krishna and others hitherto. Then who is he and why has he been called Kadambapan in this inscription ? In this connection, we have to consider an inscription found in the temple of Praṇavēśvara at Tāḷagunda in the Shikaripur taluk, Shimoga district, Karnataka State. The record, which can be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to the same period as the inscription under study, has been published long ago in 1911 by the late R. Narasimhachar.[7] This inscription, written in Sanskrit, mentions a certain Kākustha of Bhaṭāri family as a leader of ten *maṇḍalikas (Kākusthēna Bhaṭāri-vaṁśa-tilakēna daśamaṇḍalikēshu nāyakatvaṁ .... avāpya)*. The record commences with a verse in praise of Paśupati i.e., Śiva bearing a crescent moon and Gaṅgā on his head. By the favour of this god Paśupati was born a certain Paśupati whose name is well-known in the southern region (*dakshiṇaśyāṁ diśi*) on account of his munificent gifts as well as his valour in battle. He is also called Kākustha, an ornament of the Bhaṭāri family whose mother was Lakshmī, born in the Kadamba family. It is also stated that this Kākustha made liberal gifts to the *brāhmaṇas (cf. Paśupatir= iti yasya nāma dānē diśi viditaṁ samarē cha dakshiṇasyām* [1*] *Kākusthēna Bhaṭāri-vaṁśa-tilakēna . . . . anēka-mahādhvarēshu dadatā , . . . pāvitaṁ vipraiḥ)*. Thus Paśupati who bestowed munificient gifts in great sacrifices (*mahādhvarēshu)* and who was a great warrior in battles *(samarē)* is also called Kākustha of the Bhaṭāri family and the son of Lakshmī of the Kadamba family. Now, the Halmiḍi inscription under study also mentions a certain Paśupati as belonging to Bhaṭari or Bhaṭāri family This Paśupati is also known as Aḷapa or Aḷupa-gaṇa-Paśupati and as dāna-Paśupati in the southern region (*dakshiṇā-patha*). He is also famous on account of his munificent gifts of cows *(Paśu-pradāna)* given in several sacrifices *(bahu-śata-havana)* and of his valour shown in several battles *(babu-śata-āhava)*. Therefore, it would be clear that the Paśupati mentioned here is identical with his name-sake Paśupati of the Tāḷagunda epigraph and also with Paśupati or Aḷapagana-Paśupati mentioned in the same Halmiḍi record. He is also the same person who is mentioned as Aḷu-Kadamban of the Bhaṭari family in line 13 of this Halmiḍi inscription. Thus, Kakustha-Bhaṭṭōra, Paśupati of the Bhaṭari family also known as Aḷapa-gaṇa-Paśupati and dāna-Paśupati, Aḷu-Kadamban of the Bhaṭāri family mentioned in the present Halmiḍi inscription on the one hand and Paśupati and Kākustha of the Bhaṭāri family mentioned in the Tāḷagunda record on the other – all represent one and the same person. And he is the son of Lakshmī who was born in the Kadamba family according to the Tāḷagunda record. This explains why he is called Kadambapan or Kadamban, i.e., connected with the Kadamba family in the Halmiḍi inscription.

Now, both the present Halmiḍi inscription and the Tāḷagunda record may be referred to, on palaeographical grounds, to the end of the fifth century A.D. or the beginning of the 6th century A.D.[8] If this is accepted, the father of Lakshmī, born in the Kadamba family, cannot be identified with Kākusthavarman as has been done by Krishna and others, but has to be identified with a later ruler of the Kadamba dynasty, possibly with king Harivarman, the last ruler of the main line who flourished, according to us, at the beginning of the sixth

century A.D. It is is, therefore, likely that Kakustha-Bhaṭṭōra was governing the area which comprised Naridāviḷe as a subordinate of the Imperial Kadamba king Harivarman. And both Mṛigēśa and Nāga or Nāgēndra were military officers (*bhaṭahar*) under Kakustha-Bhaṭṭōra stationed at Naridāviḷe. They are described as fierce or courageous (ābhīḷar)[9] military officers. Krishna and T. V. Venkatachala Sastri[10] regard the expressions of Mṛigēśa and Nāgēndra occurring in lines 2-3 of the inscription under study as adjectives qualifying their names Mṛigēśa and Nāga appearing again in lines 3 and interpreting them as fierce like Mṛigēśa i.e., lion or Nāgēndra i.e., Serpent. This is unnecessary if we complete the sentence with the word *appōr* in line 2 in which case the meaning would be "there were two courageous military officers called Mṛigēśa and Nāgēndra", these two names are repeated in the next sentence as 'Mṛigēśa and Nāga'.

The expression "*dakshiṇāpatha-bahu-śata-havan - āhavaduḷ paśu - pradāna - śauryy-ōdyama - bharitōn - dāna - Paśupatiy = endu pogaḷe-ppoṭṭaṇa Paśupatī-nāmadhēyana . . .*" occurring in lines 7-8 of this Halmiḍi record has given rise to different interpretations. In this sentence, the Paśupati of the Bhaṭari family has been praised. Krishna renders this sentence as follows :- "Paśupati who is full of heroism and action in giving away (slaying) cows (sacrificial beasts) in many hundreds of sacrifices which are battles in the great Dakshiṇāpatha (Southern India) and is praised as the Paśupati (or Śiva) in bestowing gifts". He thinks that Paśupati killed many cows (*paśu-pradāna*) in several sacrifices in the form of battles and thus exhibited his heroism and is praised as dāna-Paśupati. Venkatachala Sastri also thinks that Paśupati showed his heroism by sacrificing i.e., killing the opponents in the *yajñas* in the form of hundreds of battles. I am sorry that I do not agree with the interpretation of these scholars. The simple meaning of the sentence would be "Paśupati was praised as dāna-Paśupati since he bestowed gifts of cows (*paśu-pradāna*) in several sacrifices (*bahuśatahavana*)" and he also showed his heroism in several battles (*bahu-śata-āhava*). This meaning is supported by his description in the Tāḷagunda inscription referred to above (cf. *Paśupatir=iti yasya nāma dānē diśi viditaṁ samarē cha Dakshiṇasyāṁ . . . anēna - mahādhvarēshu dadatā*).

The Halmiḍi inscription states that the officers Mṛigēśa and Nāgēndra gifted Palmaḍi and Mūḷivaḷḷi to one Vija-Arasa who fought and won victory over Kēkayas and Pallavas on behalf of Paśupati. This Vija-Arasa is described as the son of Ella-Bhatari[11] and as having received the gift of the two villages as *bāḷ-gaḷchu* i.e., through the ceremony of washing the sword as an honour for rendering yeoman service in the battle and achieving victory.[12]

In line 13 of the inscription under study, there occurs an incomplete passage "*Baṭāri-Kuladon=Aḷu-Kadamban*" which means that Aḷu-Kadamban of Baṭāri family. So far as I know, no scholar has tried to explain in what context or for what purpose this passage occurs here. We have already shown that this Aḷu-Kadamban is the same person as Kakustha-Bhaṭṭōra or Paśupati of the Bhaṭāri family mentioned elsewhere in the record. We have also seen that the hero Vija-Arasa fought the battle on behalf of

this Paśupati. To me, it appears that though the actual donors of the two gift villages were Mṛigēśa and Nāgēndra, the grant was formally given to the donee by the ruler Aḷu-Kadamban. Such instances where the king or the ruler formally makes the gift while the actual donor would be somebody else are common in epigraphical literature. For example, a copper-plate inscription[13] of the Bhōja king Pṛithivimallavaiman dated in his first regnal year registers a gift made by the king at the reguest of his brother for the merit of their mother Chētasādēvi But later on, the record states that the gift was actually made by Chētasādēvi. From this, it appears that the gift-land was purchased by the king's brother on behalf of his mother Chētasādēvi (who makes the actual grant), though the formal donation was made by the ruling king himself. Similarly, in the present record under study the ruler Aḷu-Kadamban seems to have made the formal grant, though the actual donors were Mṛigēśa and Nāgēndra. This explain the mention of Aḷu-Kadamban in line 13.

Now, we have to consider two difficult words viz, '*Saḷbaṅga*' and '*Kuṟumbiḍi*' which occur in lines 14-15 of the record under study in the sentence '*Irvvaruṁ saḷbaṅgadar Vijārasara Palmiḍige kuṟumbiḍi viṭṭār*'. Krishna who reads Vijārasaruṁ in this sentence takes *saḷbaṅgadar* as an adjective of Vijārasar and interprets it as a place-name to which this Vijārasar belonged. He further identifies Saḷbaṅga with modern Salvaṅga (Saḷavaṅga) in Shimoga district. But as the reading, according to us, is Vijārasara in the genetive case and not Vijārasaruṁ in the nominative as read by Krishna, the expression *saḷbaṅgadar* which is in the nominative has to be applied to the previous word viz., *irvvaruṁ* i.e., both Mṛigēśa and Nāgēndra. However, the word '*saḷbaṅgadar*' remains to be interpreted. Scholars have interpreted it in different ways.[14] Scholars like K. V. Ramesh and T. V. Venkatachala Sastri accept the suggestion of Krishna that Saḷbaṅga refers to the place-name. But it is worth considering whether this word is connected with Sanskrit '*śarabhaṅga*' or '*sarabhaṅga*' which means a military governor or leader of forces.[15] In the present inscription also the two persons, described as *saḷbaṅgadar*, viz., Mṛigēśa and Nāgēndra, were military officers (*bhaṭahar*). So *śaḷbaṅga* seems to be a synonym of '*bhaṭaha*', and suits the description of these officers. Since *śarabhaṅga* is found in the inscriptions of North India only like Kashmir, Bihar and Bengal and is not found in the records of South India, K. V. Ramesh thinks that the word Saḷbhaṅga refers to the place-name only and that it can't be connected with Sanskrit *śarabhaṅga*.[16] However, in our opinion, the possibility of *saḷbaṅga* representing sanskrit *śarabhaṅga* cannot be ruled out.

Lastly, the meaning of the word 'kuṟumbiḍi' is also not clear. It seems to refer to the remission of some taxes or it may be connected with Sanskrit '*kuṭumbavṛitti*' or with Kannaḍa '*Kuttumbitti*' which occurs in many records in the sense of 'family fief' to be enjoyed by the heirs of the donee. Thus Vijārasa seems to have received the village Palmaḍi as a 'family fief' from Mṛigēśa and Nāgēndra.

TEXT[17]

1 [18]Jayati śrī-parishvaṅgaś-śyārṅga[myā][19] natir=Achyutaḥ । **dānav-ākshṇōr=yug-ānt-**
āgniḥ śishṭā[nān=tu] Sudarśana[ḥ] [।।*]

2 Namaḥ śrīmat-Kadambapan-tyāga-sampanna[n*] Kala[bhōra]-**nā ari** Ka-

3 kustha-Bhaṭṭōr[n=āḷe] Naridā[viḷe] nāduḷ Mṛigēśa-Nā-

4 gēndr-ābhi[ḷa]r=bbhaṭahar=appōr [।*] śrī-Mṛigēśa-Nāgāhvaya-

5 r=irvvaruṁ[20] Bhaṭari-kul-āmala-vyōma-tār-ādhipa[n] A[ḷu]pa-

6 gaṇa-Paśupati[y=ā] Dakshiṇāpatha-bahu-śata-havan-ā-

7 havadu[ḷ] paśu-pradāna-śauryy-ōdyama-cha[21] ritōn cāna-Pa-

8 śupatiy=endu pogaḻe-ppoṭṭaṇa Paśupati-

9 nāmadhēyan=āsara-kkella-Bhaṭariyā prēmāla[22]ya

10 sut ange Sēndraka-Baṇ-ōbhaya-dēśadā virā-purusha-samaksha-

11 de Kēkaya-Palla[varaṁ] kād=eṟidu petta jayan=ā Vija-

12 arasaṅge[23] bāḷ-gaḻchu Palmaḍiuṁ Mūḷivaḷiuṁ ko-

13 ṭṭār [।*] Baṭari-kulado[r=A]ḷu-Kadamban=ka[ḷdor=ma] **hāpātakan** [*।]

14 Irvvaruṁ saḻbaṅgadar[24] Vijārasara[22] Palmaḍige kuṟu-

15 mbiḍi viṭṭār [।*] Adān=aḻivonge[25] mahā-pātakam [।*] Svasti [।*]
On the left side of the slab

16 Bhaṭṭarg=ī gaḷde[26] o[ḍḍa]ḷi ā pattondi viṭṭār=akara [।*]

Notes :

1. We have referred Kākusthavarman to the period 400-30 A.D. See *Journal Or. Res.* (Madras, 1949), Vol. XVII, p. 42.

2. They are all written in Sanskrit language.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 200 ff, text line 2.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 151 ff., text lines 3-4.

5. *Stud. Ind. Hist. Cult.* (P. B. Desai Fel. Vol.), pp. 57 ff. text lines 1-2.

6. *M.A.R.*, 1911, p. 35, text lines 1-2.

7. *M.A.R.*, 1911, pp. 35 ff.

8. D. C. Sircar thinks that the date of the Halmiḍi inscription would be the end of the 6th century A.D. cf. *Ind. Ep.*, p. 48.

9. The suggestion of M. J. Sharma, (*JESI.*, Vol. 9, pp. 78 ff.) that the word *ābhīḷa* here stands for the proper name Āḅhīḷa, which is the Kannaḍa variant of the Sanskrit from Ābhīra is rather for-fetched and not convincing. This Ābhīra race had a strong foothold in the Khandesh region of Maharashtra. Further, in old Kannaḍa, it is *ḷ* which is changed to *r* and not *vice-versa* as thought of by Sharma.

10. *Śabdārtha Vihāra* (Kannaḍa), 1979, p. 4.

11. This name can also be read as Kella-Bhaṭari and the expression *Kella* is met with in the inscriptions as Chitrasēna-kella, Ēla-kella, Ara-kella, etc. (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 34).

12. Cf. Chidananda Murthy, *Kannaḍa Śāsanagala Sāṁskṛitika Adhyayana*, 1966, p. 243. K. V. Ramesh's rendering of this expression *bāḷ-gaḷchu* as "earning a livelihood" is not happy and convincing.

13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 62-3.

14. Cf. M. Chidananda Murthy, *Pr. Kar.*, Vol. 47, pp. 124-27 ; S. Nagaraju, *Ibid.*, Vol. 51 ; K. V. Ramesh, *Ibid.*, pp. 23-27 and M. Hanumanta Rao, *Ibid.*, Vol. 52, pp. 139-42.

15. This has been pointed out by S. Nagaraju (Cf. *Pr. Kar.*, Vol. 51, pp. 89-92).

16. K. V. Ramesh, *Pr. Kar.*, Vol. 51, pp. 23-27.

17. From the photograph kindly supplied by Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy, Mysore and also after the text given by M. H. Krishna.

18. This line is engraved round the figure of a *Sudarśana-chakra* carved at the top of the slab.

19. Krishna reads this letter as *vyā* in *Pr. Kar.* which gives a better sense.

20. Krishṇa reads *irvvarā*.

21. *pa* is engraved below the line between *dhi* and *n*.

22. Krishna reads this letter as *bha* but looks more like *cha*.

23. The letter *la* is written below the line between *mā* and *ya*.

24. Krishna reads *arasange*.

25. This consonant *r* is written below the line in a dimunitive form.

26. Krishna reads *Vijārasaruṁ*.

27. Krishna reads *aḷivonge*.

28. Krishna reads *gaḷde*.

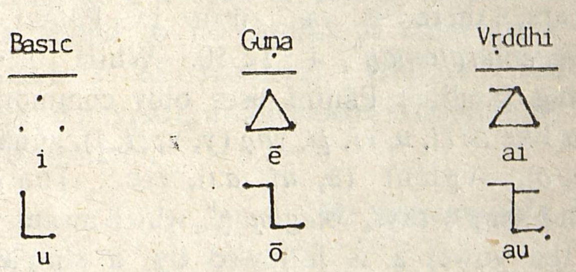
22. THE BRAHMI SCRIPT AND PHONETICS : AN ISOMORPHIC ANALYSIS OF VOWELS

Michael Lockwood & A. Vishnu Bhat

More than one scholar has suggested that the Brāhmī alphabet was devised by a grammarian.[1] We propose to detail briefly the isomorphism which exists between the shapes of vowels of the Brāmī script on the one hand and the phonetic analysis (Pāṇini's) of the same vowels on the other.

In the guṇa sandhi *ē* and *ō* are used as *i* and *u* respectively. [In all guṇating processes, *a* remains unchanged (or, as it is sometimes said, *a* is its own guṇa). Both *a* and *ā* remain unchanged in the guṇa and vṛiddhi sandhis.] Thus, it can safely be said that *ē* and *ō* are the corresponding guṇa vowels to *i* and *u*, *ai* and *au* being the corresponding vṛiddhi vowels. In the Prātiśākhyas, *ē* and *ō* are called Sandhyaksharās. But still the authors of the Prātiśākhyas give rules respecting their pronunciation in a manner implying them virtually to be unitary sounds. From these, the heavier *ai* and *au* were distinguished by the length (indicating growth/increment= *vṛiddhi*) with which they are invested. By the time of Pāṇini, *ē* and *ō* and *ai* and *au* came to be treated as purely unitary sounds and, accordingly, Pāṇini treats them, on the basis of tradition, as Guṇa and Vṛiddhi sandhis.

The inventors of the Brāhmī script must have have had in mind both the Prātiśākhyas and Pāṇini's work, the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, especially, in their treatment of *ē* and *ō* and and *ai* and *au* because they seem not only to guṇate *i* and *u* into *ē* and *ō*, and increase *ē* and *ō* further, but, also to take into consideration Pāṇini's idea of *saṁjñās* (three strokes have been used to denote guṇa and the additional stroke found in *ai* and *au* to denote vṛiddhi) :



1) In the formation of vowels, the inventors seem to have taken the short *a*, *i*, and *u* as the basic characters, whereas in the formation of *ē* and *ō* and *ai* and *au*, they seem to have followed Pāṇini's definitions of the *guṇa* and *vṛiddhi* concepts as well as Pāṇini's rules regarding the guṇā and vṛiddhi sandhis. Pāṇini's rules, in this context, are purely phonological in character and not grammatical.

2) According to Pāṇini, *a*, *ē*, and *ō* are called guṇa letters, whereas *ā*, *ai*, and *au* are called vṛiddhi letters. The guṇa and vṛiddhi letters are used as substitutes whenever guṇa and vṛiddhi sandhis take place.

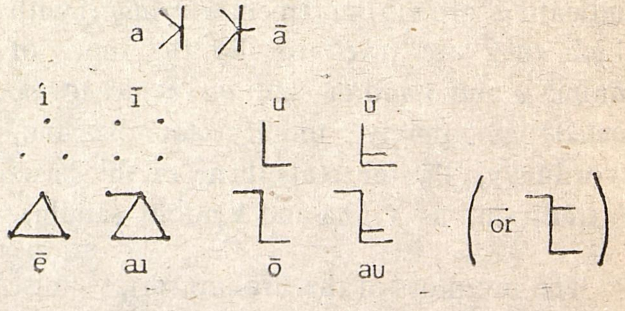
3) The fourteen Māhēśvara sūtras given at the beginning of Pāṇini's work establish the independent origin of the guṇa as well as the vṛiddhi letters. Pāṇini never says that the guṇa letters are developed out of *a*, *i*, *u* and the vṛiddhi letters, out of *ā*, *ē*, and *ō*. The terms *guṇa* and *vṛiddhi* are used as as *saṁjñās* (the proper, as well as technical, names of *ē* and *ō*, and *ai* and *au*, respectively)

In the rules regarding sandhis, Pāṇini uses only these technical names and not the specific letters (e.g., *Ātguṇaḥ*, 6 : 1 : 87, and *Vṛiddiḥ ēchi*, 1 : 1 : 1, where guṇaḥ means *ē* and *ō*, and vṛiddhiḥ means *ai* and *au*).

4) Did the devisers of the Brāhmi script follow Pāṇini's rules ? Certainly they did. Fundamental to the whole sandhi concept, there is a sūtra in Pāṇini : "*Sthānēntaratamaḥ*", 1 : 1 : 50. While discussing sandhis, Pāṇini uses only common terms like *ik* (*i*, *u*, *ri*, *ḷ*), *yaṇ* (*y*, *v*, *ri*, *l*), guṇa (*a*, *ē*, *ō*), vṛddhi (*ā*, *ai*, *au*), etc. Thus, Pāṇini simply says, "*Ādguṇaḥ*", which means : "If the vowel a is followed by a simple vowel, the guṇa (*a*, *ē*, or *ō*) is the single substitute for the final *a* or *ā* of the preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding one." In this context it is absolutely necessary to keep in mind the fundamental sūtra, "*Sthānēntaratamaḥ*". "Even if there is the change of all the letters included in the technical term being comprehended on substitution, still the likeliest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, should be accepted as the actual substitute." Thus, in the case of the guṇa sandhi, when we propose sandhi between '*upa*' + '*Indraḥ*' (*Upēndraḥ*', we first of all get *a ē ō* guṇa letters. The sandhi in this particular case has to take place between *a* and *i*. Here, according to Pāṇini, we must have regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance. *A* is guttural and *i* is palatal. As *ē* is both guttural and palatal, that letter is the actual substitute here. Thus, in the place of *a* and *u*, *ō* is the actual substitute. In the case of vṛiddhi sandhi, in the place of *a* and *ē*, *ai* should be the actual substitute, and in the place of *a* and *ō*, *au* should be the actual substitute.

It should be borne in mind that Pāṇini uses the word 'substitute' and never says that *a* and *i*, *a* and *u*, *a* and *ē*, *a* and *ō* became respectively *ē*, *ō*, *ai*, and *au*. Hence, any attempt to see a combination of the three basic vowels in the guṇa and vṛiddhi letters will prove futile. It seems likely that like Pāṇini, the devisers of the Brāhmī script used special symbols to denote guṇa and vṛiddhi vowels. For guṇa, they have used three strokes, and for vṛiddhi, they have used four.

It is interesting to note that *ē* bears closer similarity to *i*, *ō* to *u*, *ai* to *ē*, and *au* to *ō*. This is, perhaps, due to the fact that in many cases, in Pāṇini's work, the substitutes are used in the place of the following vowels, like *i*, *u*, *ō*, *ē*, without taking into consideration the preceding *a* or *ā*.



Note :

[1]For example : I. Taylor, *The Alphabet*, vol. 2, second edition (London : 1899), p. 289 ; and G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, reprinted in *Indian Studies : Past & Present* Calcutta : Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1962 (this English translation of the original German work was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1940), p. 35 ; to mention only two early comments.

BOOK REVIEWS

History of Medieval Andhra dēśa by M. Krishnakumari, Published by Gian Publishing House, New Delhi-110 002, 1989, pp. I to XVI and 1 to 146 and 15 figures and plates. Price Rs. 200-00.

The book is a compendium of articles written by the author on different topics bearing on Andhra History. There are in all twenty three articles and they have been broadly classified under two sections. In section I, there are included fifteen articles and all of them are studies based on epigraphical sources. The author in her article 'On the significance of a Tamil record of Kulōttuṅga I at Bapatla shows how the southern school of Vaishṇavism popularied by Rāmānujāchārya influenced the Vishṇu temple at Bapatla. The articles 'Tamil Influence on Personal and Place-Names in the coastal Districts of Medieval Andhra' is interesting and the author shows how several villages, towns, and territorial divisions were named after the names of the Chōḷa kings or their epithets during the medieval period.

Section II contains eight articles and they are related to temple architecture, iconography and iconometry. The articles on 'An unpublished Sculpture of Śarabhēśa Mūrti from Drākshārāma' and 'Iconometric Analysis of the images of Bhīmēśvara temple at Chalukya Bhīmavarman (Samalkot), Andhra Pradesh' are very illuminative. The author besides providing an informative glossary and bibliography has given fifteen plates of line drawings, plans and photographs of images which either bear relation to or form part of the topics of her papers. A general index has been given at the end which find a place in the book between the bibliography and the plates.

The author deserves our thanks for bringing out such a useful volume and it is bound to be useful to researchers and students of medieval Andhra History, epigraphy, art, architecture, iconography and iconometry.

S. Subramania Iyer

The Rule of the Chālukya-Chōḷas in Andhra dēśa by M. Krishnakumari ; Published by B. R. Publishing House, Delhi-110 052, 1985, pp. i to xii+1 to 276. Price Rs. 200-00.

This book represents substantially the author's doctoral disseratation presented to Andhra University. The author has rightly chosen an important phase in Andhra History in 11-12th centuries A.D. for her study. The matrimonial relationship between the Imperial Chōḷas and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vēṅgi resulted finally in the emergence of Kulōttuṅga I (1090 A.D. to 1118 A.D.) who ruled over both his ancestoral Chōḷa and newly inherited Vēṅgi territories (following the death of the Vēṅgi Chalukya king Vijayāditya in and around 1075 A D). Kulōttuṅga I was a brilliant conqueror and fighter and he is credited with baving sent two military expeditions to the Kalinga country. A graphic account of his reign and military conquests can be gathered from a contemporary work called Kalingattupparaṇi composed by his court poet

Jayangoṇḍār besides his several inscriptions found in Tamil Nadu and Andra Pradesh.

Chapter I entitled introduction gives an idea of the epigraphical and literary source material made use of in this study by the author and the work done by the pioneers like Hultzsch, Venkayya, etc. Chapter II is taken up with a detailed account of the state of affairs prevailing in the Vēṅgi and and Chōḷa kingdoms and the matrimonial relationship existing between the two royal houses prior to the advent of Kulōttuṅga I. Chapter III gives a graphic account of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I and his achievements. Chapter IV is taken up with the period following the death of Kulōttuṅga I. Needless to say Kulōttuṅga's successors were no match to the former either in his military skill or his administrative acumen. Chapter V gives a detailed account of the chaotic conditions that set in Andhra Pradesh following the death of Rājarāja II who left no direct male issue to succeed him. In the political vaccum following the collapse of Chōḷa-Chālukya power, the Kākatīyas and the Velanāṭi Chōḷas vied with each other to gain ascendancy in Andhra Pradesh. Chapter VI is taken up with the administration while Chapter VII, the economic conditions. Chapter VII discusses on the social divisions and marriage customs. Chapters IX and X deal respectively with religion and literature and art. At the end, the author sums up her opinion under a heading called conclusion. The author has provided two useful appendices one on the genealogy and chronology of the dynasties who ruled contemporary to the Chōḷa Chālukyas in Andhra Pradesh and the other a glossary on some of the terms occurring in inscriptions of this period with their meanings. This is followed by select bibliography and a general index at the end.

The author is to be congratulated for the exhaustive and detailed study and in this task, she has made judicious use of epigraphical and literary source material. We are sure that similar critical studies of lesser known dynasties in Andhra Pradesh will be taken up which will go a long way in filling up some of the gaps in Indian History.

S. Subramania Iyer

Uttaṅkita Sanskrit Vidyā Araṇya Epigraphs, Vol. II Prakrit and Sanskrit Epigraphs, 257 B. C. to 320 A.D., edited by Shri K. G. Krishnan ; Published by Uṭṭaṅkita Vidyā Araṇya Trust, Mysore, 1989, Pages xxvi+552 : Price Rs. 300-00.

The Uṭṭaṅkita Vidyā Araṇya Trust under the benigne grace and blessings of *H H. Pūjya Śrī Paramāchārya* of Kāñchī Kāmakōṭi Pīṭha has brought out its second volume containing the critical texts, gists and notes of as many as two hundred and eighteen important inscriptions covering a period from 257 B. C. to 320 A.D. Its learned editor Shri K. G. Krishnan, while treating each and every inscription included in this volume, has lent his critical accumen and scholarship. The editor has broadly followed the pattern set by the eminent epigraphsit Dr. D. C. Sircar in his classic book *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and civilization,* Vol. I., but has additionally provided an English summary of each inscription which is very useful to the students of Indology. The editor has taken pains to collect his rich source

material from all important indological and epigraphical journals and books. He has in this process included some important inscriptions from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Sri Lanka belonging to the period under reference. It is heartening to note that Shri K. G. Krishnan in his stupendous task has been ably assisted by the well-known scholar and epigraphist, Shri V. S. Subramanyam.

In the translation of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of Ābhīra Vasushēṇa (No. 175), the editor has translated the passage *sthānatō=pi na chālitaḥ ēsha bhagavān Udumbhara-bhavaḥ* as "the Supreme being, the eight handed lord, present in the Audumbara piece ...... this image was not reset, though it was in its original place (but not well kept)". It may not be out of place to mention here that the above passage can also be taken to mean that the image of the deity with eight hands (the eight handed lord) was made of an *Udumbara* tree *in situ* and was consecrated there itself. It was not shifted from that plaee.

The book is very valuable in that it provides the latest and upto date account of the inscriptions included in the volume. The volume is provided with a comprehensive and illuminating introduction (pp. I-XV). At the end, the editor has provided genealogical tables in respect of the dynasties to which inscriptions included in this volume belong, a detailed bibliography, additions and corrections, an exhaustive concordance of Prakrit and Sanskrit expressions (pp. 477-538) and a general index, which serve a very useful purpose.

Like the *Select Inscriptions* of Dr. D. C. Sircar, this book is sure to find a coveted place in the book shelves of libraries catering to the needs of students and scholars engaged in epigraphical and indological researches. One fondly hopes that the Uṭṭaṅkita Vidyā Araṇya Trust continues its useful work of bringing out the remaining volumes in the not too distant a future.

Madhav N. Katti

S. Subramania Iyer

PLATE I

A KHAROSHTI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 126 OF THE AZES ERA

Fig 1 Section A

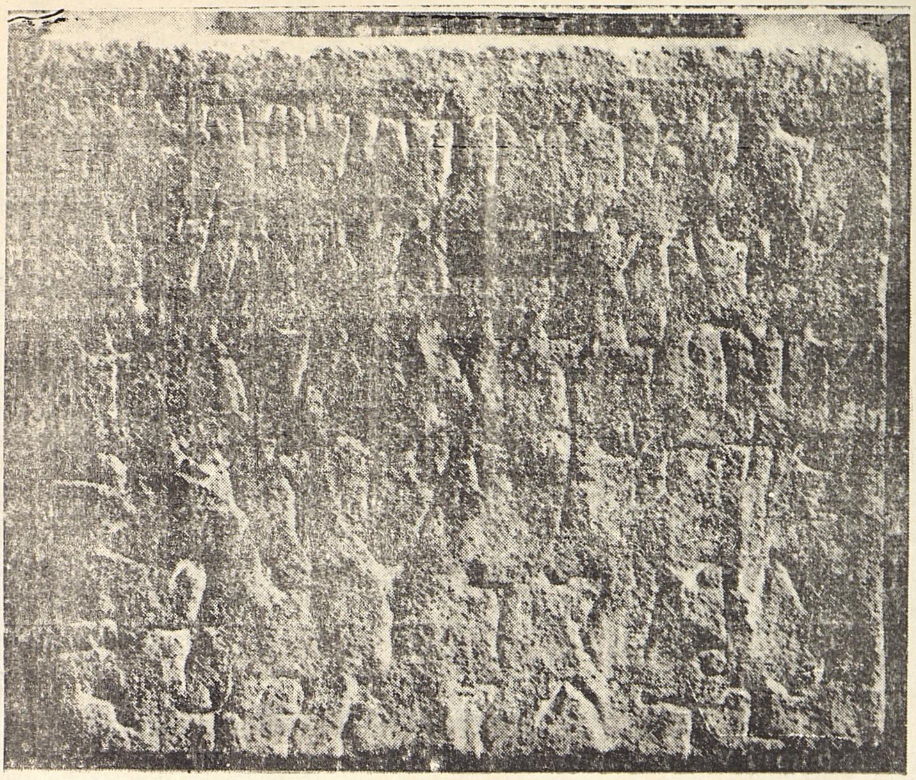


Fig 2 Section B

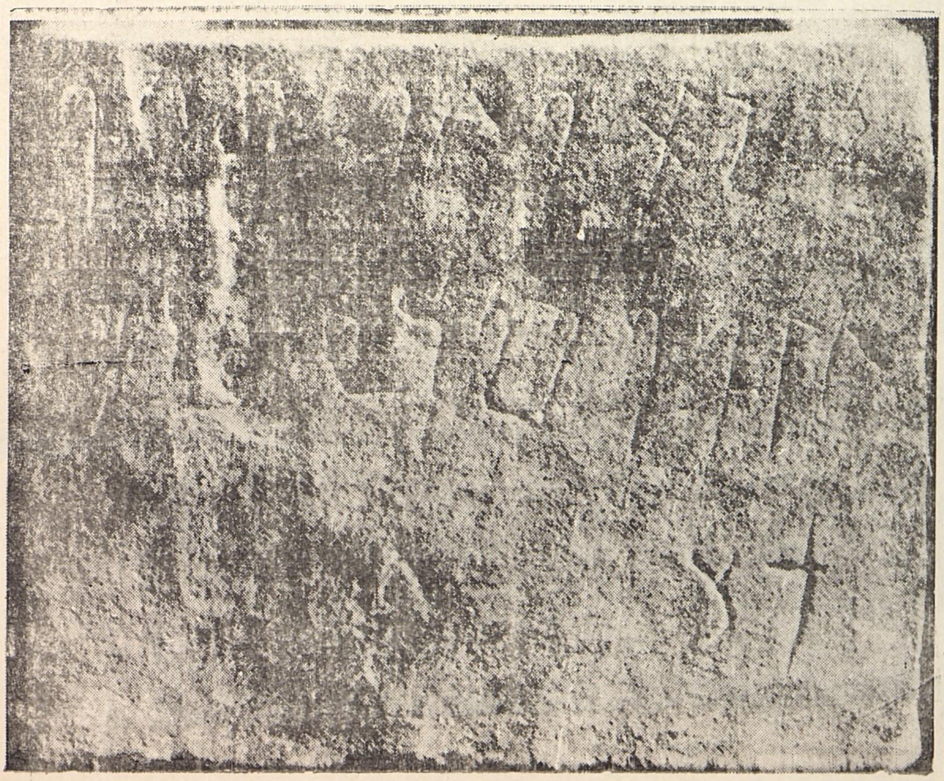


Fig 3 Section C

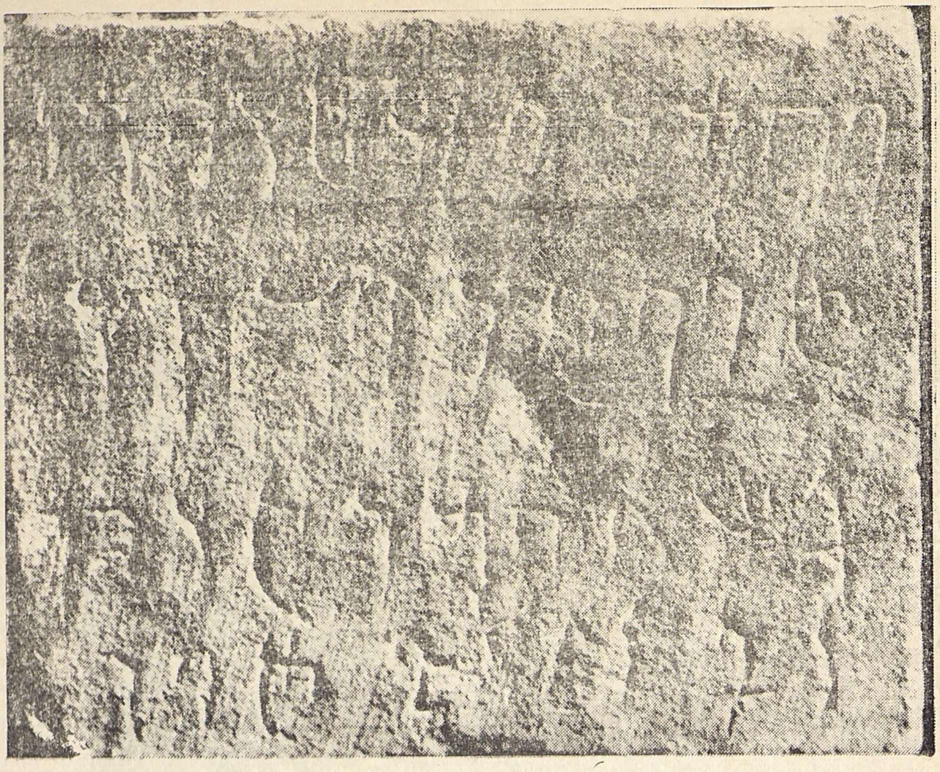


Fig 4 Section D

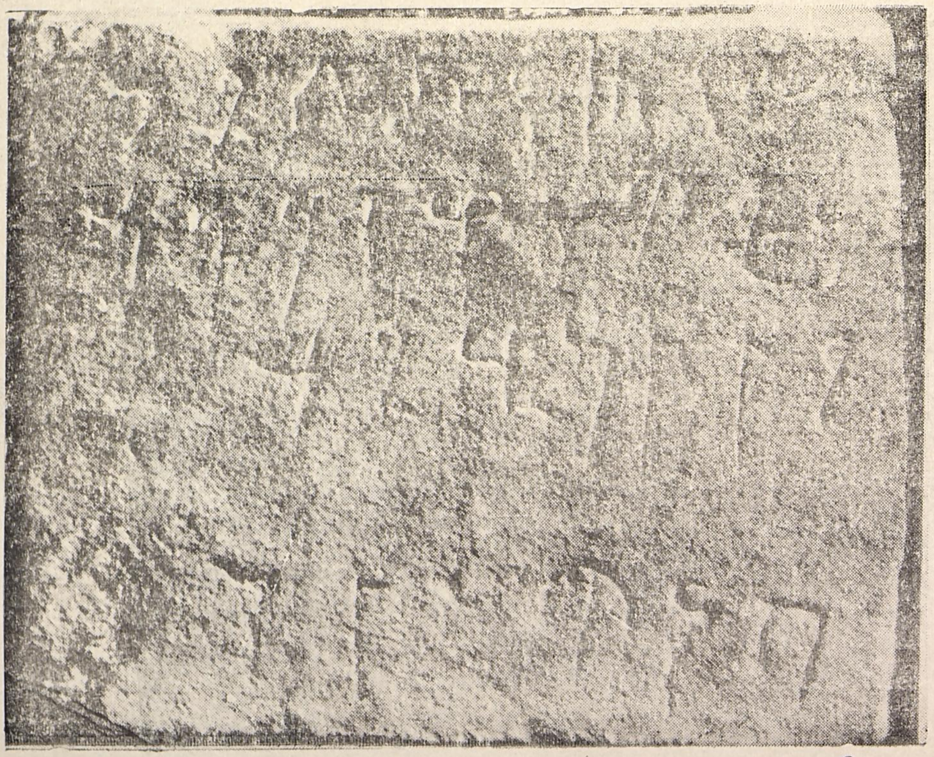
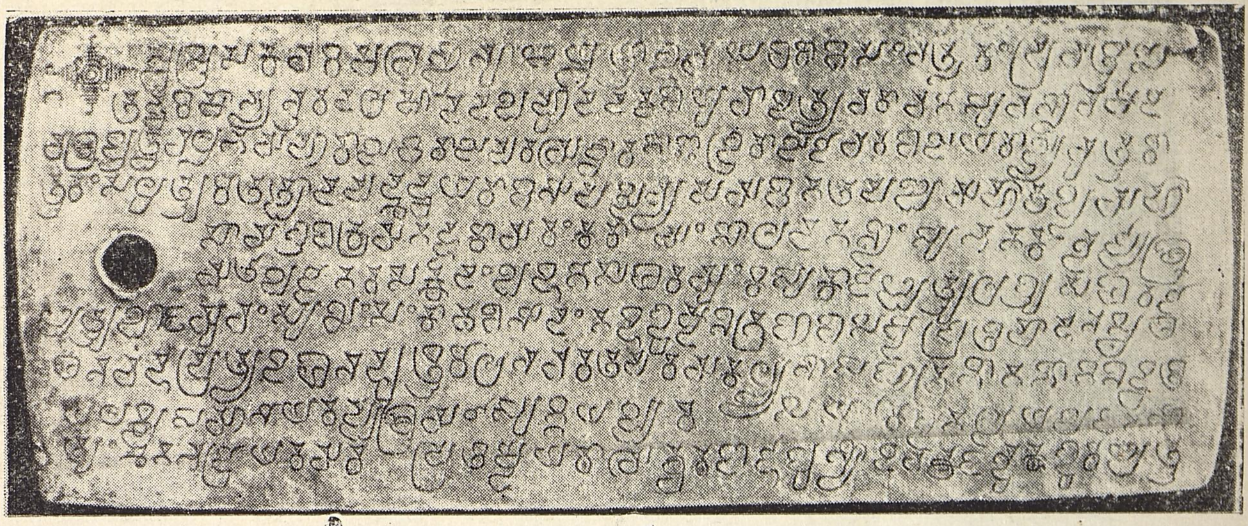
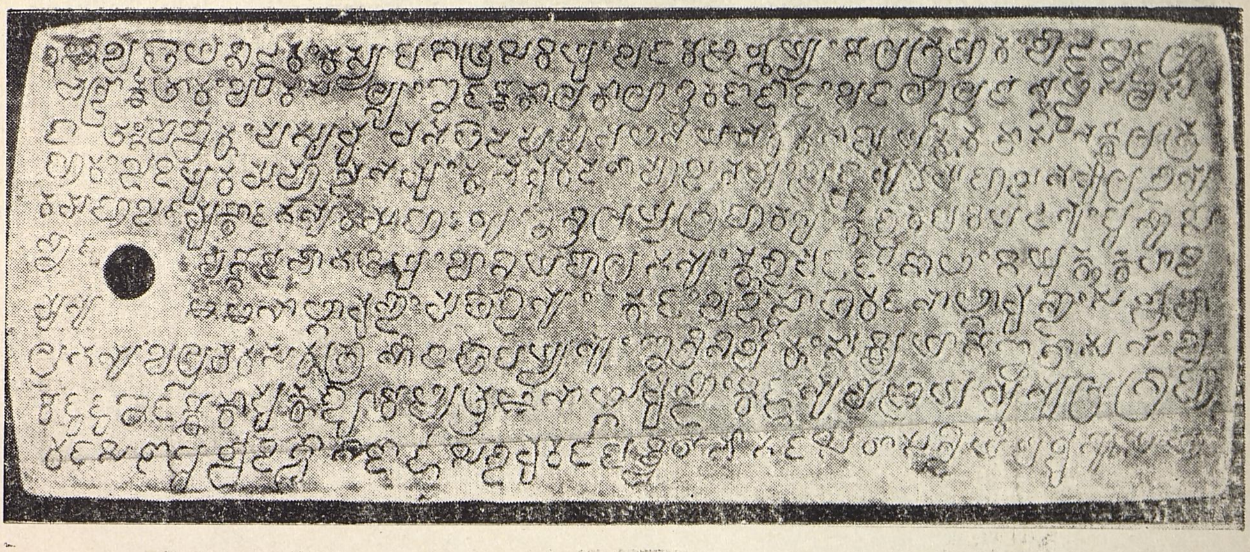


PLATE II
KUMBALUR PLATES OF GOVINDA IV

i



ii a



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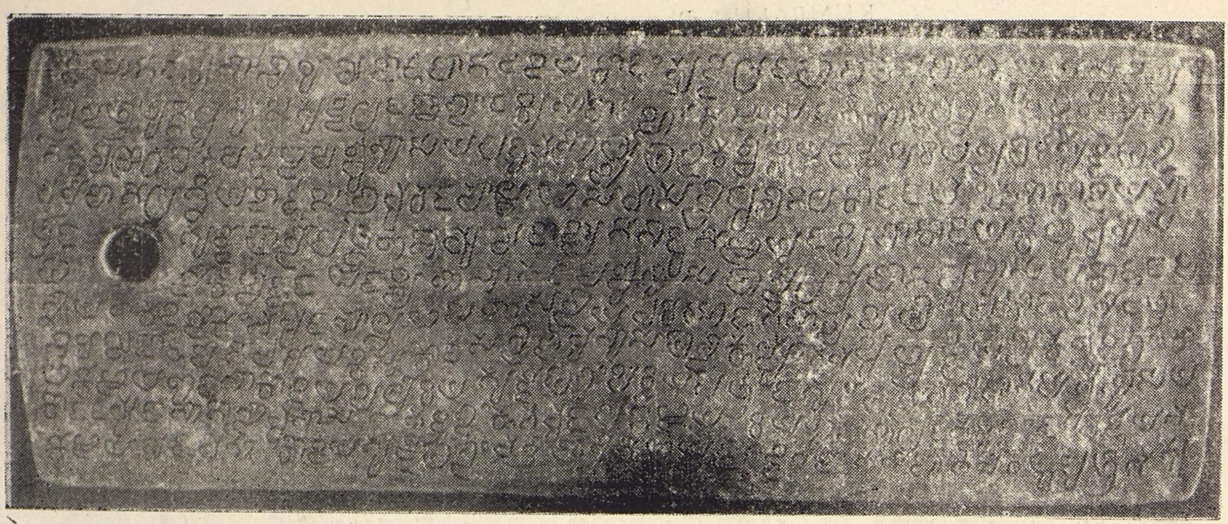


iii

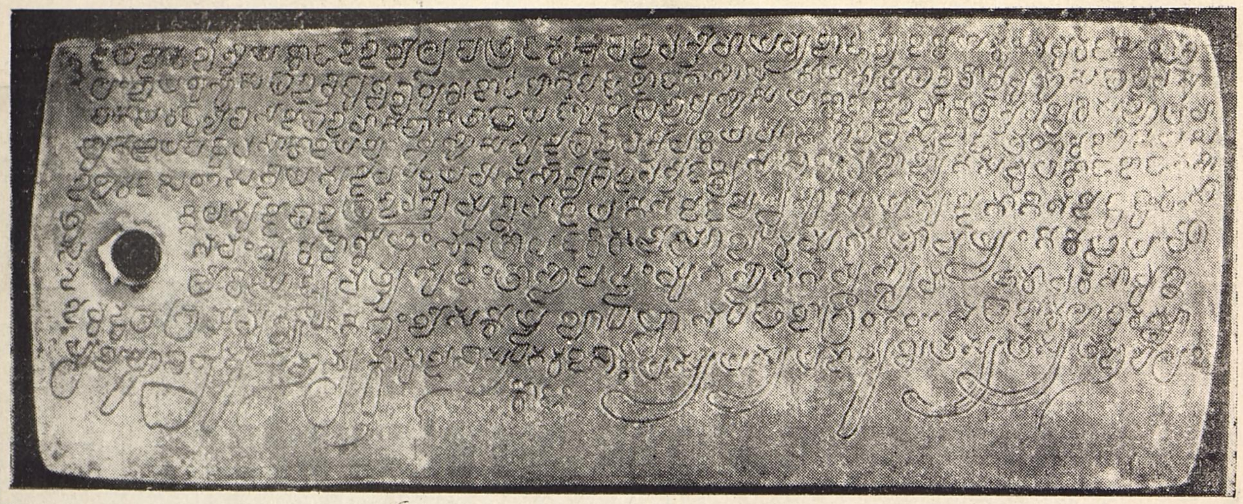


PLATE III

AN INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURA

PLATE IV

A TIGALARI INSCRIPTION FROM GUNAVANTE

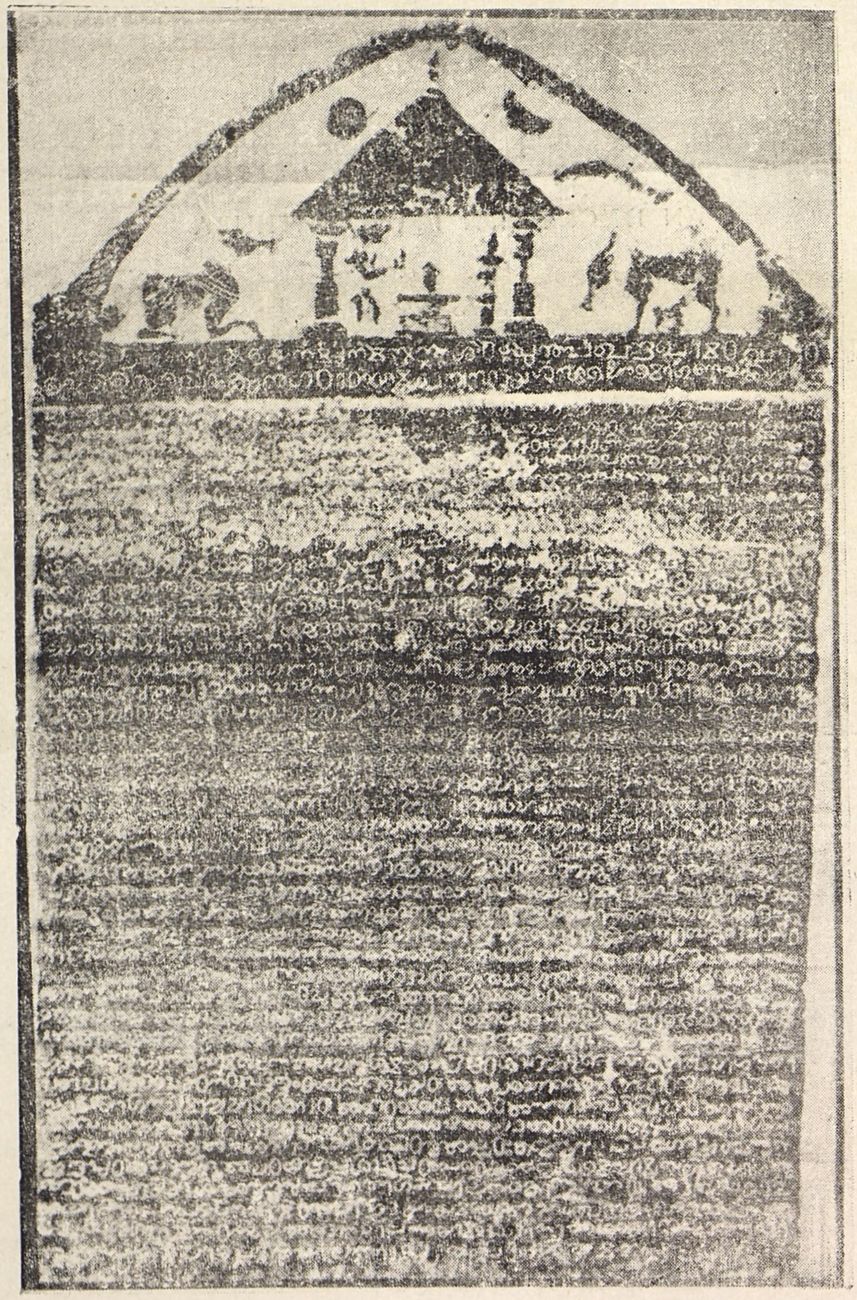
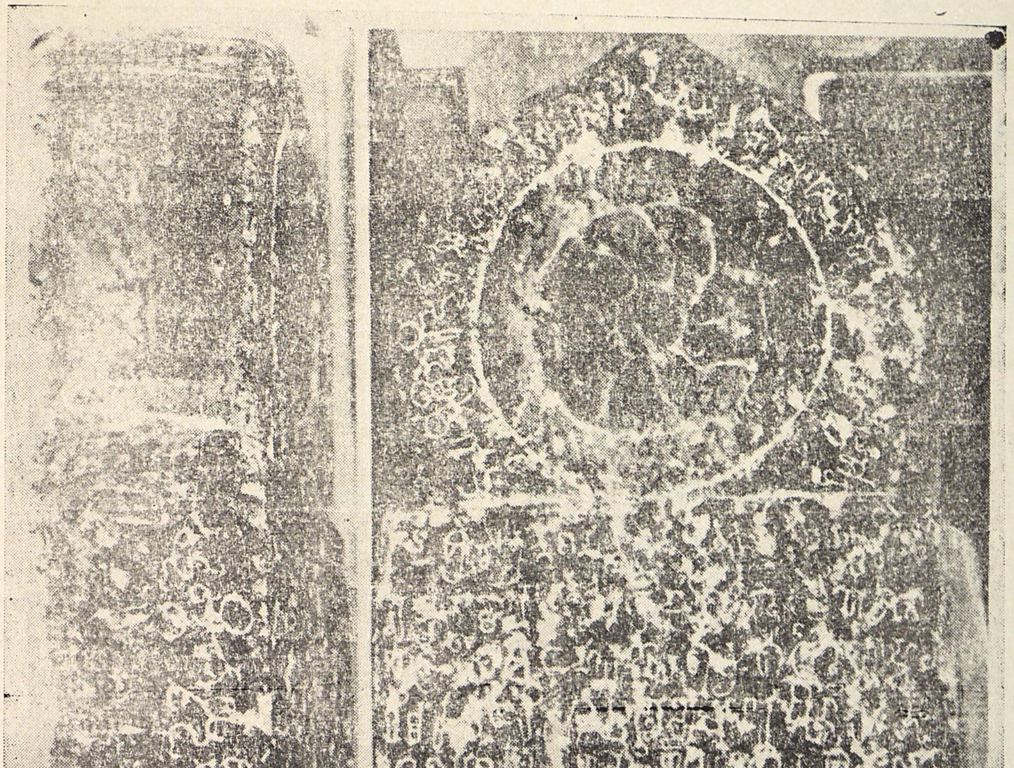


PLATE V
HALMIDI INSCRIPTION



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